



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

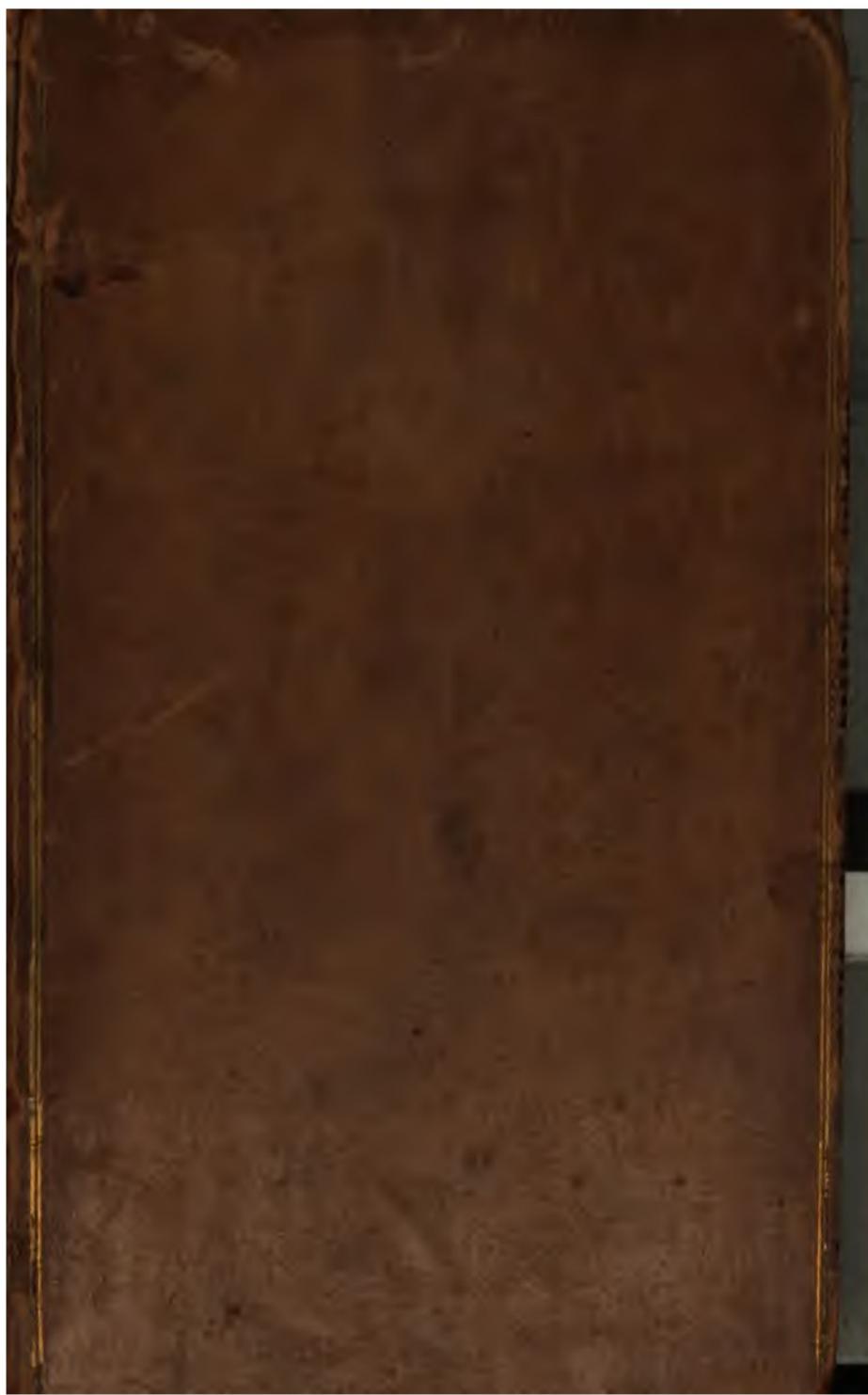
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

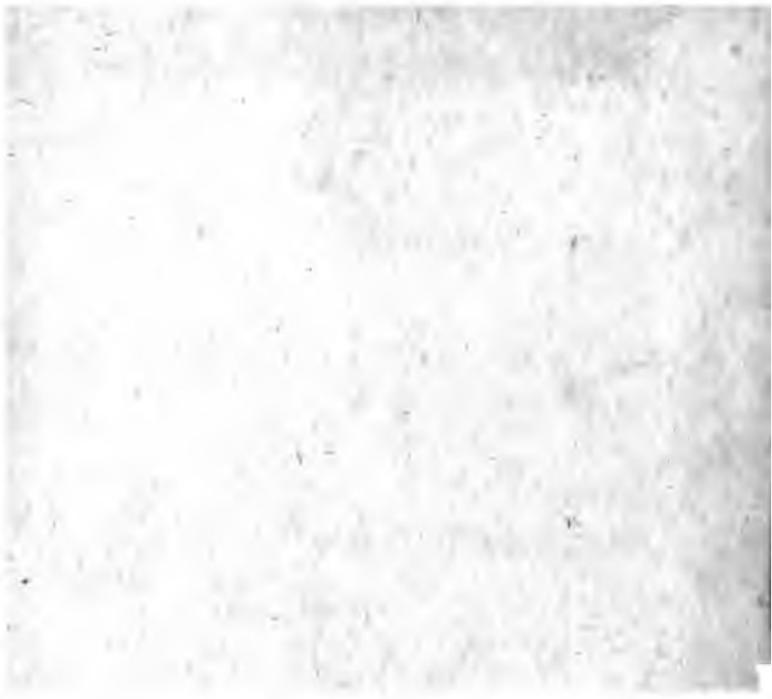
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

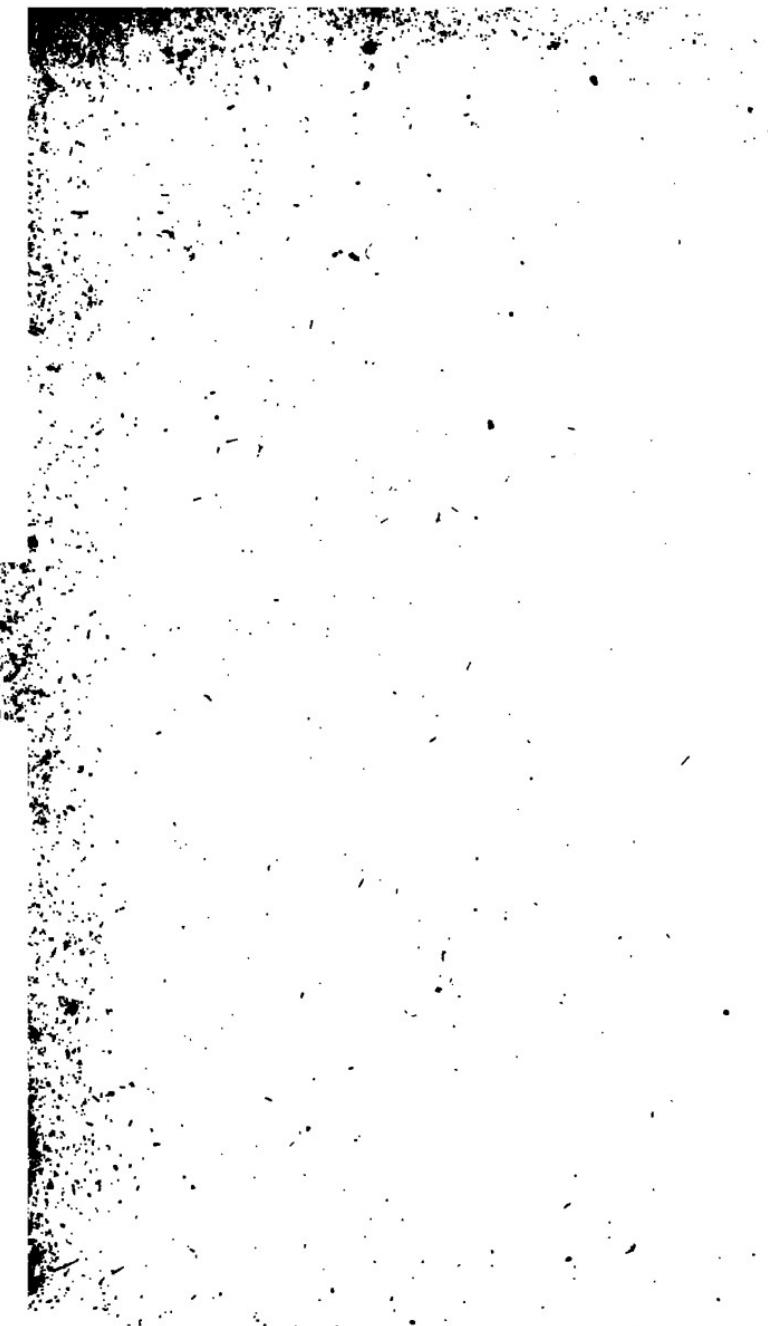


23641 f 79

- P. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.
21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 is a
Description of the Bacchanalian
Rites.
P. 55, 56, 57 Character of Marcus
Porcius Cato.
P. 65, & 66 Death of Philopamen
P. 67 & 68 Death of Hannibal







TITUS LIVIUS'S
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM

The Building of the CITY.

WITH

The Supplement of JOHN FREINSHEIM.

Translated into ENGLISH, and illustrated with
notes historical and geographical.

In EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME VIII.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by A. DONALDSON and J. REID.
For ALEXANDER DONALDSON.

M D C C L X I.

STOLEN

16-5-1912

LIBRARY

T I T U S L I V I U S'S
R O M A N H I S T O R Y

F R O M

The Building of the City.

B O O K X X X I X .

A B R I D G M E N T .

I. Both consuls act in Liguria, each paves a road. III. Furius the prætor in Gaul, for oppression, is ordered to quit the province; the allied states of Italy complain that many of their people had settled at Rome, who are all sent home. IV. Disputes about triumphs. VI. The Asiatic luxury introduced into Rome. VIII. The Bacchanalia discovered and suppressed. XX. The consul Philippus with his army surrounded in a forest by the Apuani. XXI. Affairs in Spain. XXIV. Disputes between Philip and the states of Greece; commissioners sent to settle them. XXX. Various success in Spain. XXXII. Affairs in Liguria. XXXIII. Other commissioners sent to Greece. XXXVIII. Disputes about the public offices. XL. The severities of Cato's censorship. XLVI. Complaints from the Grecian states. XLVII. The senate's favour to Demetrius, Philip's son. XLIX. Differences between the Achæans and Messenians; Philopæmen taken and poisoned. LI. The death of Hannibal. LIV. Some Gauls, who had come into Italy and begun to build a town, ordered home. LV. Colonies planted. LVI. Several prodigies; a new island rises out of the sea near Sicily.

CHAP. I. During these transactions at Rome, (though we are not certain they all passed this year), both the consuls prosecuted the war

in Liguria. This nation seemed destined to keep up the discipline of the Roman arms, during the intervals of more important wars. No province was so proper as this to give an edge to the soldiers valour. For Asia, by the delights of its cities, the plenty of all things with which both sea and land furnished it, the effeminacy of the enemy they had to deal with, and the wealth received from its kings, had indeed made the Roman army richer, but less warlike. In particular they had indulged in licentiousness and negligence under Cn. Manlius. By this means they suffered a considerable defeat in Thrace, where the ways were more rugged, and the enemy more experienced in arms. In Liguria every thing kept the soldiers constantly employed and on their guard; a rough country full of mountains, which even, when defenceless, could not be taken without much labour, and still more difficult to dislodge an enemy from, after they had once seized them; the passes were narrow and steep, and infested with ambushes; the enemy light and nimble, who fell upon them when least expected, and never suffered them to remain in quiet or security at any time or in any place. The strong fortresses they were under a necessity of attacking, exposed them to great fatigue and dangers. Besides, the country being poor and barren, obliged the soldiers to live hardily, without furnishing them much booty. For this reason no sutlers, no long train of carriage-beasts followed the army, nothing was to be seen but accoutrements, and men, whose sole dependence was on their arms. Last of all, there never was wanting either matter or just ground of war with them; for the poverty of their country drove them to make continual incursions upon the lands of their neighbours, and they never hazarded their whole strength at once.

CHAP. II. The consul C. Flaminius several times defeated the Ligurians, called Frinates *, in

* *Frignana.*

their

their own country ; and having reduced them to submit, disarmed the nation. But when he was on the point of calling them to account for having concealed great part of their arms, they abandoned their villages, and fled to mount Auginus *. The consul immediately followed them. But they fled with precipitation a second time, most of them unarmed, over impassable rocks and precipices, where the enemy could not pursue them, till they had passed the Apennines. Such as remained in their camp, were surrounded and taken. Then the Romans passed the Apennines. The Ligurians defended themselves for some time upon the eminence which they had seized, but soon surrendered. Stricter search was then made after their arms, which were all taken away. Then he marched against the Ligurians called Apuanis, who made such frequent incursions upon the lands of Pifa and Bologna, that it had not been possible to sow them. By reducing them he secured tranquillity to the neighbouring parts. In consequence, having no war in his province, that his troops might not be idle, he employed them to pave a road from Bologna to Arretium. The other consul Æmilius burnt and laid waste the lands and villages of the Ligurians that lay in the plains, while the inhabitants kept upon two mountains, Balista and Suismons. Then he attacked them on these eminences. At first he only harassed them with slight skirmishes ; but at last forced them to a pitched battle, in which he vowed a temple to Diana. Having subdued all the people on this side the Apennines, he marched against those on the other side, where his colleague had not attacked the people of Frinia. Æmilius reduced and disarmed them all, and then obliged them to leave the mountains, and come down to the plains. Having reinstated peace in Liguria, he entered the territories of the Gauls, and made a road from Placentia to Ariminum, where it joined the Flaminian way.

* Monte Codre.

In the last battle he fought with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Juno queen of the gods. These were the memorable actions performed in Liguria this year.

CHAP. III. Furius the prætor in Gaul, seeking pretexts for war in time of peace, disarmed the Cenomani, who had committed no act of hostility. They made their complaint to the senate, who remitted them to the consul Æmilius, whom they had commissioned to take cognisance of, and settle that affair. After a hard contest with the prætor, they got the better of him. Their arms were restored to them, and Furius ordered to quit the province. After this the senate gave audience to the deputies of their allies, who flocked from all parts of Latium, to complain that great numbers of their people had settled at Rome, and were registered there. An inquiry into this affair was intrusted to Q. Terentius Culleo. He was ordered to inspect the census-roll of C. Claudius, and M. Livius; and of all succeeding censors, and to send home to their own country, whomever the allies should prove to have been registered at Rome, either in their own persons, or by their parents, during that time. This inquiry sent home 12,000 Latins, and discharged Rome of a multitude of strangers who then were a burthen to it.

CHAP. IV. Before the consuls returned to Rome, M. Fulvius the proconsul arrived from Ætolia. He had audience of the senate in the temple of Apollo, and, after giving an ample detail of his exploits in Ætolia and Cephallenia, he petitioned to order thanks to be returned to the immortal gods, and grant himself a triumph. But M. Abutius, a tribune of the people, woul'd interpose his authority, if they should make any decree on that subject before the arrival of the consul Æmilius. "He," said the tribune, "has reasons to oppose it, and at his departure for his province desired, I might suffer no resolution to

“ to be taken in that respect till his return. This
 “ delay will not be prejudicial to the proconsul, for
 “ the senate will be at liberty to determine the af-
 “ fair as they please, even in the presence of Aemilius.” M. Fulvius answered, “ Supposing the
 “ world was ignorant of the enmity Aemilius bears
 “ me, and of the tyrannical and arbitrary manner
 “ in which he shews his animosity and resentment ;
 “ yet it is intolerable that his absence should ob-
 “ struct the praise due to the gods, and the triumph
 “ my services merit ; that a successful general and
 “ victorious army should be detained with their pri-
 “ soners and booty without the gates, till a consul,
 “ who stopt on purpose, should deign to return to
 “ Rome. But since his animosity is so notorious,
 “ what justice can be expected from him, who, ta-
 “ king advantage of a thin house, got an unfair de-
 “ cree passed, and had it registered too ? Does it not
 “ appear that Ambracia was taken by force of arms,
 “ when I approached it by mounts and galleries ?
 “ when I erected new works, after my first were
 “ burnt and destroyed : when I fought fifteen days
 “ round the walls, above and under ground : when
 “ my troops, after having scaled the walls were
 “ obliged to fight from morning till night : and,
 “ lastly, when above 3000 of the enemy were kill-
 “ ed during the siege ? What a calumny then was
 “ it in him to accuse me before the pontiffs of ha-
 “ ving plundered the temples of the gods in a city
 “ taken by force of arms ? as if it had only been al-
 “ lowable to take away the ornaments of Syracuse
 “ and other cities, and Ambracia alone was exempt-
 “ ed from the rigours of war. I therefore beg you,
 “ Conscrip^t Fathers and tribunes, not to expose me
 “ to the caprice of a haughty enemy.”

CHAP. V. Then the senators rose up from all sides, some to intreat the tribune to drop his opposition, and others to reproach him. But the speech of his colleague Ti. Gracchus made the greatest impression.

impression upon him. "It is a shameful thing," said he, "in a magistrate to use the power of his office against his own enemies. How much more detestable and unbecoming will it then be in a tribune of the people, to use the authority given him by the sacred laws, as a tool to gratify another person's enmity? One's own heart and reason ought to regulate his love or hatred, approbation or condemnation of actions; and not to depend upon the looks and nods of others. A tribune in particular ought not to be influenced by the caprice of any other person, or support the unjust hatred of a consul. You, Abutius, ought not to regard the private orders Æmilius gave you, or forget that the Roman people confided the tribunician power to you, to aid the citizens, and maintain their liberty, but not to favour the tyranny of consuls. Do you not reflect, that it will be recorded to future ages, that of two tribunes of the same year, one had sacrificed his private resentment to the public interest, and the other gratified that of another, from a servile compliance with his orders?" These remonstrances had their effect on the tribune, and he left the house. So, upon the motion of Ser. Sulpicius the prætor, a triumph was decreed to Fulvius. When he paid his compliments of thanks to the Fathers, he added, "That day on which I took Ambracia, I vowed to celebrate great games in honour of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings; and for that purpose collected 110 pound weight of gold from the states of Ætolia. I beg therefore, Illustrious Fathers, that you will give orders to separate that sum from what are to be carried in my triumph, in order to be deposited in the public treasury." The senate ordered the pontiffs to be consulted, whether it was necessary to expend so great a sum in exhibiting the games. The pontiffs said, it did not concern religion, what sums were laid out upon them.

them. Upon this the senate gave Fulvius permission to expend what he pleased, provided he did not exceed the sum of 80,000 asics. He had resolved to suspend his triumph till the month of January. But upon hearing the consul Aemilius, whom Abutius had informed by letter of his having dropt his opposition, had set out for Rome to obstruct his honour in person, but had fallen sick on the road, he anticipated the day, lest he should have a fiercer battle about his triumph at Rome, than he had had in Aetolia. He triumphed on the 22d of December for the Aetolians and Cephallenians. In the procession were carried before his chariot 100 crowns of gold, weighing twelve pound a-piece * ; 1083 pound weight of silver, 243 of gold, 118,000 Attic tetradrachmæ, 12,422 Philippus's, 285 brass statues, and 230 of marble, besides vast quantities of arms and other booty. Add to these the catapultæ, balistæ, and other engines of all sorts, with twenty-seven prisoners of distinction, either Aetolian, Cephallenian, or Syrian lords. The same day, before his procession, he conferred military rewards, in the Flaminian circus, on legionary tribunes, praefects, knights, centurions, and Roman allies. To each of his soldiers he gave twenty-five denarii †, double to a centurion, and triple to a knight.

CHAP. VI. The time for holding the consular elections was near at hand ; and as Aemilius, whose lot it was to preside at them, could not be present, Flamininus came to Rome, and supplied his place. The fasces were transferred to Sp. Postumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus. Then T. Mænius, P. Cornelius Sulla, C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Licius Lucullus, C. Aurelius Scaurus, and L. Quinctius Crispinus, were elected praetors. Towards the end of the year, and after the election of magistrates, Cn. Manlius Vulso triumphed on the fifth of

* 57,600 l. at 4 l. per ounce. † 16 s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

March for the Asiatic Gauls. He had purposely deferred it, to avoid being prosecuted before Q. Terentius Culleo the prætor, by virtue of the Pætilian law, and becoming the victim of the iniquitous judge who had condemned L. Scipio. He knew the judges would be more incensed against him, than they had been against Scipio, because he had suffered military discipline, which his predecessor had kept up with great severity, to degenerate into licentiousness. Neither was it only the account of the excesses which his troops ran into in the province, and at a distance, which reflected dishonour upon him; but because they daily abandoned themselves to pleasures before the eyes of all Rome. For it was Manlius's army that introduced the Asiatic luxury into the city. They first brought in couches adorned with brafs, rich counterpoints, curtains, and other fine coverings, and, which were then considered as the most magnificent furniture, tables standing on one foot, and buffets. To this they added female minstrels, who played on the harp and sackbut, and who acted farces to divert the company at entertainments. At this time they likewise began to furnish out their entertainments with great delicacy and expense. In consequence, a cook, who formerly had been the meanest of all slaves, became the most necessary and most esteemed servant in the family; and what was before a contemptible office, rose to be an art of great consequence. However, these excesses, the novelty of which surprised at that time, were but faint images of the luxury into which the Romans afterwards plunged.

CHAP. VII. In the procession were carried before Manlius 200 crowns of gold, weighing twelve pounds apiece *, 220,000 pound weight of silver †, 2203

* At 4 l. per ounce they were worth 115,200 l.

† 660,000 l.

pound

pound weight of gold *, 127,000 Attic tetradrachmæ †, 250,000 cistophori ‡, 16,320 gold Philippus's ||, with great quantities of Gallic arms and other booty in waggons. Before his chariot were led fifty-two chiefs of the Gallo-Greeks. He distributed to each soldier forty-two denarii †, and twice as much to each centurion. Besides, he gave the foot double † pay, and triple ‡ to the horse. Many persons of all ranks, on whom he had conferred military rewards, followed in his train. The air resounded with the military songs in his praise, which manifestly proceeded from his facility and indulgence; by this means his triumph was more applauded by the soldiers than the people. But to regain him their favour, his friends after great interest obtained a decree of the senate, "That part of the money carried in his triumph should be applied to pay that part of the money which the people had formerly lent to the public, that had not been already discharged." The city-quæstors raised a sufficient fund to discharge the debt, by taking only $25\frac{1}{2}$ asses per 1000 out of all the money carried in triumph. About the same time two legionary tribunes arrived from the two Spains with letters from C. Atinius and L. Manlius. Their contents were, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians had taken up arms, and ravaged the lands of the allies. The senate referred the consideration of that affair entirely to the new magistrates. As the Roman games exhibited this year by P. Cornelius Cethegus and A. Postumius Albinus, were celebrating in the circus, a pole which was not well fixed, fell upon the image of the goddess Power, and threw it down. This accident alarmed the superstition of the Fathers, so that they ordered the games to be continued one day longer, and in place of the

* 105,744 l.

† 4304 l. 8 s. 0 $\frac{4}{5}$ d.

‡ 2 l. 14 s. 3 d.

† 16,404 l. 3 s. 4 d.

|| 14,756 l. 4 l. 7 s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.‡ 4 l. 1 s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

feature to erect two new gilded ones. The plebeian games were also continued another day by their ædiles, C. Sempronius Blæsus and M. Furius Luscus.

CHAP. VIII. The punishing an intestine conspiracy kept the two consuls of the new year, Albinus and Philippus, from thinking of armies, wars, or provinces. However, the prætors cast lots for theirs. Mænius got the jurisdiction of the city; Lucullus the cognisance of differences between citizens and foreigners; Scaurus, Sardinia; Sulla, Sicily; Crispinus hither, and Piso further Spain. Both consuls were allotted the inquiry into the secret conspiracy. An obscure Greek landed from his own country first in Etruria. He was entirely unskilled in those ingenious arts and sciences, which that polite and learned people have often brought among us, and which have refined and polished both our minds and body. He was a despicable priest and soothsayer: neither did he, for subsistence, publicly profess to teach religious rites and ceremonies, which make an awful impression on the minds of men, but to instruct them in secret mysteries. At first he initiated only a small number of persons; but soon admitted both men and women indiscriminately. To attract a greater number, he also added to the mysteries, the pleasures of wine and feasting. When wine and darkness had banished all sense of decency from the breasts of a mixed assembly of men and women, young and old, they abandoned themselves to all kind of wickedness, for each had opportunity sufficient to indulge his naturally predominant passion. Neither was the promiscuous abuse of men and women one with another without distinction, the only vice of this assembly: but false witness, forgeries of deeds and wills, and informations, issued from this corrupt office; nay poisonings and murders in private families so secretly committed, that the bodies of the unhappy persons were never found for interment. They practised

many

many crimes by secret treachery, but more by open force. The noise of drums and cymbals drowned the cries and shrieks of those whom they assassinated, or sacrificed by violence to the gratification of their lust.

CHAP. IX. From Etruria these abominations, like a contagious distemper, spread as far as Rome. The largeness of the city concealed them for some time: but at length the consul Postumius came to the knowledge of it in the following manner. P. Æbutius, having lost his father, who was a knight, and soon after his guardians, by death, fell under the guardianship of his mother Duronia and his father-in-law, T. Sempronius Rutilus. The mother was entirely devoted to the husband, who having managed his ward's estate in such a manner that he could not give an account of it, conceived thoughts of ridding himself of him either by death or falling on some pretext to make him his slave. The most proper means he thought to compass this end, was to initiate him in this cursed sect of Bacchanalians. In consequence the mother called him, and said, “In your last sickness, son, I vowed, that if it should please the gods to recover you, to initiate you in the mysteries of Bacchus. Since therefore the goodness of the gods in restoring your health obliges me to perform my vow, I earnestly desire to do so. You must prepare yourself by ten days continence. On the tenth day after supper, and being thoroughly washed and purified, I will lead you to the Bacchanals myself.” There was a famous enfranchised courtesan, named Hispala Feccinia. She had followed this profession when a young slave, and subsisted herself by it after she got her freedom; but had sentiments very uncommon to persons in her course of life. As she lived in the neighbourhood, she had contracted a commerce with Æbutius, without injuring his reputation or draining his pocket: for she attached herself to him out of esteem and a sincere affection; and as he had but small al-

lowance from his mother and father-in-law, her liberality enabled him to live in a genteel manner. In time she became so enamoured of him, that the patron at whose disposal she was dying, she petitioned the tribunes and prætor for another, because she resolved to make her will, by which she left Æbutius her sole heir.

CHAP. X. Engaged thus by mutual pledges of love, they concealed nothing from each other; so that the young gentleman pleasantly forbade her to be surprised if he lay from her a few nights. He intended to be initiated in the mysteries of Bacchus, in order to discharge a vow that had been made for the recovery of his health. Struck with horror at the news, she cried out, " May the gods forbid, and rather grant us both death, than suffer you to do so! May the dangers that threaten you fall on the heads of those who have given you this cursed advice!" The youth, astonished at what she said, and at the concern he saw her in, begged her to spare her execrations; for it was by order of his mother, with consent of his father-in-law. " Then," replied she, " this father-in-law (for respect for you will not suffer me to blame your mother) by this abominable deed, wants to precipitate your honour, reputation, hopes, and life, to inevitable destruction." This increased his astonishment, and he pressed her to be more explicit. " I call all the gods and goddesses to witness," said she, " that my affectionate regard for your preservation, and no other motive, extorts from me a discovery of what ought to be an inviolable secret. When I was a slave, I attended my mistress to this mystery, but never have been there since I enjoyed my liberty. I know it to be a sink of all kinds of vice. For two years no person above twenty years of age has been initiated. When any person is first introduced, he is delivered as a victim to the priests. They lead him to a private place, where by vast shouts, vocal concerts, and

" and the noise of cymbals and drums, they drown
 " the cries of the wretched person, while he is vio-
 " lently robbed of his honour. I implore and conjure
 " you by any means to disengage yourself from be-
 " ing hurried to a place, where you must first suffer
 " and then perpetrate the most horrid acts of wicked-
 " ness." She did not quit him till she had made him
 swear he would renounce those abominable mysteries.
 Then he went home, where, when his mother told
 him what he ought to do that and the following days,
 to prepare himself for the initiation, he roundly an-
 swered, he did not intend to observe any of the rules
 he prescribed, or to be initiated.

CHAP. XI. His father-in-law was present at this discourse. His mother immediately exclaimed, "that
 " he could not refrain from the embraces of Hispala,
 " during these ten nights! She is the sorceress,
 " whose poisonous charms has extinguished in you
 " all sense of duty to your father-in-law and mother,
 " and regard for the gods." She on the one side, and
 the father-in-law on the other, reproached him in
 this manner, and with four slaves turned him out of
 doors. The youth went directly to his aunt by the
 father's side, named Æbutia, and told her the reason
 why his mother had turned him out. Next day she
 ordered him to go privately, and reveal the matter to
 the consul Postumius. The consul dismissed him
 with orders to return to him after three days. Postumius
 inquired of his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, a lady
 of great virtue and distinction, if she was acquainted
 with an ancient lady, one Æbutia, who lived on mount
 Aventine? "I know her well," answered she, "to
 " be an honest woman, and one who strictly adheres
 " to the ancient manners of Rome." "Then," says
 he, "I want to speak with her; pray send and de-
 " sire her to come hither." Æbutia complied with
 the message, and waited on Sulpicia. In a little time
 the consul dropt into their company, as if it had been
 by accident, and introduced a conversation about

her nephew Æbutius. The good old gentlewoman, overwhelmed with tears, began to lament his misfortunes. "He is robbed," said she, "of his fortune, by persons whom it ill becomes to act such a villainous part; he is now at my house, being turned out of doors by his own mother, because the honest youth, may the gods deliver us all! refused to be initiated in some obscene mysteries."

CHAP. XII. By this the consul was satisfied that Æbutius had told him the truth. So he dismissed Æbutia, and begged his mother in-law to send also for the freed woman, Hispala, who lived on the Aventine hill, and was well known to all the neighbourhood, for he had some questions to ask her. Hispala trembled at a message desiring her, she knew not why, to wait on a lady of such distinction and virtue. But when she saw the lictors and the consul's train in the porch, and then the consul himself, she swooned. She was carried into a private apartment, where the consul, in presence of Sulpicia, told her, "She had nothing to fear, if she could resolve to tell truth. Either Sulpicia a lady of undoubted credit, or himself, would give her full security. She must therefore make a full discovery of what was commonly acted in the nocturnal assembly of the Bacchanals in the grove of Seæne.*" Upon hearing this, Hispala was seized with such terror and trembling of every limb, that her breath failed her for a long time. When she recovered, she declared, that she had been initiated with her mistress, when she was young and a slave, but during several years that she had been free, she knew nothing of what passed there. The consul commended her for not denying that she was initiated, and desired her to proceed with equal fidelity to discover the rest. But she insisted she knew no more. The consul told her, he would not so easily pardon her, or shew her equal favour, if she should oblige

* The mother of Bacchus,

him to convict her by the testimony of another, as he would if she made an open confession herself; for her confidant had discovered all to him.

CHAP. XIII. Hispala no longer doubting that Æbutius had revealed the secret, fell at the feet of Sulpicia, and conjured her, “not to turn a conversation between a courtesan and her lover, not only into a serious, but even a capital matter. What she had told him was only to deter him from being initiated, and proceeded not from her personal knowledge.” This exasperated the consul. “What,” says he, “do you think you are now imposing on your lover Æbutius, and forcing that you are speaking to a consul in the house of a lady of the highest rank and merit?” Then Sulpicia endeavoured to encourage Hispala, who trembled for fear, one the one hand exhorting her to confess, and on the other softening her son’s passion. At length the courtesan recovered, and inveighed bitterly against the perfidy of Æbutius, who had so ill requited the services she had done him. “I much dread,” said she, “the vengeance of the gods, should I reveal their secret mysteries, but more the resentment of mankind, who will tear me to pieces with their hands, for making the discovery. Let me therefore conjure you both to banish me to some place without Italy, where I may spend my remaining days in safety.” The consul bade her “take courage, for he would take care that she should live securely at Rome.” Upon this she revealed the whole mystery from the beginning. “It was originally only an assembly of women, to which they never used to admit any of the other sex. Three days in a year were set apart for the initiation of members, and the assembly met only in the day-time. The women in turn were elected priestesses. But Paculla Anna, a Capuan, changed the regulations of the society, as she pretended, by the advice:

" advice of the gods. She was the first who introduced men, namely, her two sons, Minius and Herennius Cerrinii. From being celebrated in the day, she had changed them into nocturnal assemblies, which, instead of only three days in a year, as formerly, were to meet five nights every month for initiation. Since the promiscuous assembling of men and women at these mysteries, and the licentiousness favoured by the darkness, all kinds of crimes and abominable wickedness were committed without scruple. More men abused each other's bodies, than indulged with women. If any one refused to prostitute themselves, or shewed a reluctance to abuse others, they were sacrificed to appease the wrath of the gods. The principal article of their religion, is to reckon nothing a crime. The men by agitations and fanatic gestures, as if deprived of their senses, pronounce a kind of oracles; and the women dressed like priestesses of Bacchus, with their hair loose, and flaming torches in their hands, run and plunge them in the Tiber, and take them out again without the flame being extinguished, because the flambeaux were made of live sulphur* and quick-lime. They also give out, that men whom they bind to a machine and hurry out of sight into secret caves, are taken away by the gods: and these unfortunate persons are such, as would neither swear to be their associates, accomplices in their wickedness, or submit to be abused. Their number is already so great, that it composes a second people at Rome, of which are many persons of distinction of both sexes. Two years ago a rule was made to admit no person above twenty years of age. For in the flower of youth people are more easily seduced, and readier to yield themselves up to prostitution."

* See Plin. l. 35. c. 35.

CHAP. XIV. When she had finished her information, she fell again at the consul's feet, and repeated her earnest petition to be transported out of Italy. Postumius begged his mother to empty an apartment in her house, as a retreat for Hispala. In consequence, she was lodged in the uppermost story, and the stair-case of her apartment leading into the street, was turned within. Then all her effects and family were sent for thither; and as for Aebutius, he was sent to live with one of the consul's clients. Postumius, having thus secured the two witnesses, laid the affair before the senate. Having in order informed them how the affair was discovered to him, and the inquiry he had made into it, it struck the Fathers with horror. They were both afraid that these nocturnal cabals and assemblies should endanger the state, and that each should find his own relations among the criminals. However, they decreed, that the consul should be thanked for the pains he had taken in discoyering the affair without noise or tumult. They also appointed him and his colleague to inquire more fully into the nocturnal ceremonies of the Bacchanals; taking great care to protect Aebutius and Hispala, and offer rewards to engage others to join in the discovery. They gave them commission to search, not only in Rome, but all market-places, for the priests and priestesses of these mysteries, and to dispose of them as they pleased. Likewise, to issue a proclamation in Rome and over all Italy, prohibiting "all who had been initiated in the Bacchanalia, to assemble or meet for the celebration of them, or any religius ceremony relating to them. But, in particular, to punish those who had met or conspired against the lives and honour of any person." Such was the decree of senate. The consuls ordered the curule aediles to make inquiry after the priests of the mystery, and when they should be apprehended, to keep them in

a private place till they should be examined. They also ordered the plebeian ædiles to take care that no mysteries were celebrated in secret; and the triumviri capitales to place guards all over the city to prevent nocturnal assemblies. And in order to prevent fires, five other officers were appointed to guard on this side the Tiber, under direction of the triumviri, for the preservation of the buildings, each in their respective quarters.

CHAP. XV. The magistrates, according to these dispositions, being sent to their respective posts, the consuls ascended the rostra, and called an assembly of the people. After Postumius had finished the solemn prayer, with which the magistrates usually ushered in their speeches to the multitude, he addressed the assembly as follows. “Never, in any assembly, Romans, was this solemn invocation of the gods more suitable or necessary than in the present. It should teach you, that those alone are the true gods, whom our ancestors appointed to be worshipped, revered, and solemnly invoked; not those who drive, with infernal goads, your minds, transported with false and foreign rites, to the perpetration of all kinds of crimes and lewdness. It is impossible for me to be silent, and yet I am at a loss how to represent to you these abominable profanations. I am afraid, if I should conceal ought from you, of giving you occasion to neglect the true religion; and, on the contrary, if I represent them in their proper light, I fear it will make you tremble with horror. However, be assured of this, that let me say what I will, my words can never be bad enough for such hainous and atrocious crimes. I shall endeavour to say as much as will suffice to guard you against them. I am certainly informed, that you have not only heard by report of the Bacchanalia which have long been celebrated all over Italy, and now in many places of this city, but even by the noise and

“ and howlings which in the night resound all over Rome. Yet I believe you are ignorant of the nature of it. Some of you imagined it a certain new worship of the gods, and others, that it was an authorised festival and foolish pastime ; or that, whatever it was, only a few persons were concerned in it. As to the number of the initiated, if I shall tell you it amounts to many thousands, you must necessarily be confounded with terror, if I do not directly inform you of their quality. At first they were only a multitude of women who were the source of this evil. Afterwards they were joined by men, as effeminate as themselves, who abandoned themselves to be abused, and to abuse others, frantic with watching, and stupefied with wine, nocturnal noise, and howlings. This cabal has yet gathered little strength, but it daily receives new accessions by the numbers that join it. Your ancestors would never suffer any number of people to rendezvous rashly, except when a standard was erected in the citadel to assemble the centuries to levy an army ; when the tribunes summoned a meeting of the tribes, or any of the magistrates called an assembly to hear their harangues : and where-ever a multitude was gathered together, they judged it necessary to have a lawful head to make it a legal assembly. But of what sort, think you, are those nocturnal meetings, promiscuous rendezvous of men and women ? If you know of what age the men are when initiated, you would not only pity, but blush for them. Do you think, Romans, that the striplings admitted into this mystery are capable to serve in the wars ? or, that, after such obscene education, they can be trusted with arms ? Can they, overwhelmed with acts of foulest lust, fight for the honour of your wives and children ?

CHAP. XVI. “ However, the crime would have been

“ been the less, if they had only indulged an effeminate lasciviousness, (for that would have derived dishonour only to themselves), and kept their hands free from perpetrating, and their heads from projecting horrid and treacherous villanies. Never was the public visited with so great a malady, in which more people are concerned, or which extends to such a multitude of affairs. You must know, that from this religious place have flowed all the licentiousness, frauds, and wickedness that have been perpetrated these several years, neither have they yet executed all the mischiefs they have hatched. Some of them are still a secret, because they have not strength sufficient to oppress the commonwealth, which they have wickedly plotted. The contagion increases and spreads daily. It is already too strong to be content with preying on the fortunes of individuals; it aims at the state. Romans, this nocturnal cabal may become a match for this assembly legally summoned by the consul in open day. Now each of them, when separated, are afraid of you all in a body. But by and by, when you are retired to your houses and farms, they will assemble. They will then form schemes for their own preservation and your destruction. Then, when united, they will become formidable to you separated from each other. Each of you then ought to wish, that all of you may be true to one another. Whomever mad lasciviousness has precipitated into this whirlpool, each of you ought to look upon as firmly attached to his accomplices in all kinds of vice and wickedness. I am extremely concerned, lest some of you be drawn into this error, because nothing is more capable of seducing than criminal superstition. When veiled under the venerable garb of regard for the gods, it fills our minds with an awful dread, lest, in punishing the many of mortals, we violate

“ late

" late some divine law which may be connected
" with it. But your scruples in this point are re-
" moved by decrees of the pontiffs, acts of senate,
" and responses of the haruspices. For how many
" times did your fathers and ancestors grant com-
" mission to the magistrates, to restrain foreign rites,
" to drive despicable priests and diviners out of the
" forum, circus, and city, and search after and burn
" all fanatic books, to abolish all forms of sacri-
" ficing, except the Roman? For all wise men,
" learned in ecclesiastical and civil law; have de-
" clared, that nothing has so great a tendency to
" overthrow religion, as relinquishing the establish-
" ed customs of the country to sacrifice according
" to foreign rites. Thus much I thought necessary
" to say by way of caution, that your scruples may
" not be alarmed, when you see us extirpating the
" Bacchanalia, and dissolving those cursed assem-
" blies. We shall do it with the countenance and
" approbation of the gods, who, not able to suffer
" such horrid crimes and abominable lusts to be
" committed in their names, have brought them out
" of darkness to expose them in full light, not to
" let them pass with impunity, but to crush and
" take vengeance on them. The senate have gi-
" ven me and my colleague an extraordinary com-
" mission to inquire after them, and we will, for
" our parts, execute it with vigour. We have or-
" dered the inferior magistrates to keep strict guard
" all over the city during the night. You ought
" on your part punctually to obey the particular
" orders shall be given you, and endeavour to
" prevent the criminals from exciting dangerous
" tumults."

CHAP. XVII. Then they ordered the decree of
the senate to be read, and proposed rewards to any
" who should bring before them or give in the
" names of criminals. If any of those informed
" against should fly, a day should be fixed for their
" appearance,

" appearance, after which they should be condemned for default. If any person then out of Italy should be accused, a longer term should be granted for their appearance, if they should incline to return and make their defence." They farther prohibited every person from " selling or buying any thing with a design to favour the flight of the criminals, or take them into their houses, conceal, or assist them in any manner whatever." As soon as the assembly was dismissed, the whole city was in the utmost consternation. Nay, the terror was not confined within the walls and territories of Rome, but spread all over Italy, as the Romans wrote to their friends and acquaintance, to inform them of the decree of the senate and edict of the consuls. The night after the assembly in which Postumius had made the foregoing speech, the guard at the gates seized and brought back many of the criminals, attempting to make their escape. Abundance of men and women were informed against, many of whom laid violent hands upon themselves. It is said the numbers of this abominable cabal amounted to above 7000. But it is certain the heads of it were M. and C. Catini, commanders of Rome, L. Opiternius, a Faliscan, and Minius Cerrius, a Capuan. These four were the authors of all the crimes and disorder, the high priests and founders of the mystery. Such right measures were taken, that they were soon seized. As soon as they were brought before the consuls, they confessed their crime, and did not in the least delay their sentence.

CHAP. XVIII. But the number of fugitives was so great, and the creditors who had actions against them in so great danger of losing their right; that the prætors, T. Mænius and M. Licinius, obtained a decree of senate, allowing all parties a month, till the consuls should finish the inquiry, to prove their claims. The same despatch (for those who had been informed

formed against neither appeared or could be found at Rome) obliged the consuls to remove into the neighbouring cities to carry on the inquiry and pass sentence. Such as were convicted of having been initiated, and of having pronounced the form of the oath dictated by the priest, and by which they had bound themselves to commit all acts of villany and debauchery, but had neither suffered themselves or perpetrated on others, what they had sworn to do, were imprisoned. But those who were guilty of the foulest debaucheries, murders, bearing false witness, forgeries, counterfeiting wills, and other fraudulent practices, were punished with death. And these were the majority. Great numbers of both sexes had taken the oath, and abundance polluted themselves with these crimes. The women who were condemned, were delivered to their relations or guardians, in order to be executed privately. But if there was nobody found proper to intrust with this execution, they were publicly put to death. After this the consuls were ordered to demolish all the places where these Bacchanalia were celebrated, first at Rome, and next throughout all Italy, without sparing any thing, excepting the old altars and statues of Bacchus. The senate afterwards passed the following decree. "That no Bacchanalia should be celebrated either at Rome or in Italy. If any person thought himself necessarily obliged to solemnise a religious festival to this god, and could not omit it without guilt, he should give notice of it to the city-prætor, who should report it to the senate. That if permission to celebrate it was granted him, when there were at least an hundred members in the house, there should not more than five persons be present at it, they should have no common funds, nor should any take upon him the quality of head or priest of the sacrifice."

CHAP. XIX. At the motion of the consul Philippus, another decree was passed; "That all the
VOL. VIII. C " resolutions

" resolutions concerning the persons who had made
 " the discovery to the consuls, should be deferred
 " till Postumius's return from finishing the inquiry
 " in the neighbouring cities, and then left to the de-
 " termination of the senate." It was thought pro-
 per to send Minius Cerrinius the Capuan, to the
 prison of Ardea, with orders to the magistrates strictly
 to guard him, not only to prevent his escape, but
 even his killing himself. Soon after Postumius re-
 turned to Rome. Upon his moving that P. Aebutius and Hispala Fecenia should be rewarded for having discovered the wickedness of the Bacchanalia, the Fathers passed a decree, " That the city should
 " out of the treasury pay each of them 100,000 *
 " asses. That Postumius should as soon as possible
 " desire the tribunes to move the people to exempt
 " Aebutius from military service, if he pleased, and
 " to forbid the censors to assign him a horse at the
 " public charge. That Hispala Fecenia should
 " have power to alienate or diminish her estate, be
 " free to marry out of her own family †, and have
 " the choice of her own guardian, as much as if her
 " master had granted her these privileges by his last
 " will. She was permitted to marry a free husband,
 " without imputation of infamy to him who should
 " marry her. That it was the will of the senate
 " that the present consuls and praetors, and their
 " successors, should take care to protect and secure
 " her from all injury." All these privileges, in pursuance of the senate's decree, were ratified by the people, and the consuls had permission to reward and indemnify the other informers.

CHAP. XX. The consul Philippus, having finished the recognition in his own district, prepared to set

* 322 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† According to the Roman law, enfranchised persons had not power to marry without consent of the father of the family which had granted them their freedom, or of the person who represented him. See Ulpian, tit. II. *Legularis*.

out for Liguria. To recruit the army in that province, he was allowed to raise and take with him, 3000 Roman foot and 150 horse, with 5000 Latin foot and 200 horse. The same quota of infantry and cavalry were decreed to his colleague for the same province. They received the armies which had served the preceding year under the consuls C. Flaminius and M. Æmilius. The senate also allowed them to levy for Spain, beside 3000 foot and 200 horse to recruit the old corps, two new legions and 20,000 Latin foot and 1300 horse. As the consuls were wholly taken up with the inquiry, they commissioned T. Mænius to make the levies. When the recognition was finished, Philippus set out first, and arrived among the Apuani. Having pursued them too far into a thick forest, their usual refuge against the enemy, he fell into an ambush, and was surrounded in a disadvantageous ground. Here he lost 4000 men, and the enemy carried off three ensigns belonging to the second legion, with eleven Latin standards. Many of his men also threw away their arms, because they incumbered them in their flight through the narrow paths of the wood: for the Ligurians did not quit the pursuit till they had entirely routed and put the Romans to flight. As soon as the consul got out of the enemy's country into a friendly one, he disbanded his army to conceal his loss. However, it was not possible to cancel the memory of his defeat: for the Ligurians gave the name of the MARCIAN forest to the wood from whence they had driven him.

CHAP. XXI. About the same time this news arrived from Liguria, they received letters at Rome out of Spain. Their contents occasioned both joy and grief. C. Atinius, who two years before had gone in quality of prætor into that province, fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians in the territory of Asta *, where he killed 6000 of the en-

* Near Xeres de la Frontera in Andalusia.

my, routed the rest, and took their camp. Then he attacked the city of Asta, which was taken with as little difficulty as the camp had been before: but the proprætor, having approached the wall in person without precaution, received a wound of which he died some days after. Upon reading the accounts of his death, the senate ordered a messenger to be dispatched after the prætor Calpurnius to the port of Luna, to bid him hasten his voyage, that the province might not be without a commander in chief. L. Manlius, who had gone to hither Spain at the same time that Atinius had to his province, engaged the Celtiberians. It was a drawn battle, except that the enemy decamped next night, and left the Romans at liberty to bury their own dead, and strip those of the Celtiberians. Within a few days the enemy greatly reinforced challenged the Romans at the city of Calaguris *. No reason is assigned why they were worsted, notwithstanding their accession of strength. About 12,000 of them were killed and 2000 taken prisoners. The Romans also got possession of their camp; and had not a successor stopt the prætor's glorious career, the Celtiberians had been entirely reduced. Both the new prætors led their troops into winter-quarters.

CHAP. XXII. About the time that these advices arrived from Spain, the Taurilian games † were celebrated for two days, because the people's superstitious fears were alarmed. At the same time M. Fulvius celebrated during ten days the games he had vowed in the Ætolian war. To exhibit them with greater splendour, he had sent for a great number of curious actors from Greece. This was the first time

* Now Calahorra on the confines of Navarre.

† According to Festus, a contagious distemper spread itself in Rome, among women with child, in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. It was ascribed to their eating the flesh of sacrificed bulls, the overplus of which the sacrificers sold; and then the Taurian or Taurilian games were instituted, in order to appease the anger of the infernal gods.

that

that combats of wrestlers were seen at Rome. Lions and panthers were also then baited. In a word, the games at that time were as numerous and various almost as they are in the present age. Sacrifices were also appointed for nine days, because it had rained stones for three days at Picenum, and lightning in several places had singed the cloaths of the peasants. Besides, the temple of Ops in the Capitol was struck with lightning, for which a supplication for one day was made by order of the pontiffs. The consuls expiated these prodigies, and purified the city with the larger sacrifices. About the same time they received advice that an hermaphrodite twelve years of age had been found in Umbria. Being looked upon as a monster, it was ordered to be carried out of the Roman territories, and put to death as soon as possible. About the same time the Transalpine Gaul invaded Venetia *, without ravaging it, or committing any other hostilities. Not far from it, where now stands Aquilea †, they prepared to lay the foundation of a city. The Romans sent ambassadors over the Alps to inquire into the reason of this proceeding. Their people answered, that they had gone upon that expedition without permission from the state, neither did they know any business they had in Italy. At that time L. Scipio celebrated during ten days the games he had vowed in the war with Antiochus, out of the money he had collected for that purpose, from the petty princes and states of Asia. Valerius Antias says, that, after his condemnation and the confiscation of his effects, he was sent into Asia to accommodate some differences between Antiochus and Eumenes; that it was at this time he collected the money, and assembled many ingenious actors in Asia. That on his return he moved the senate for permission to celebrate the games, of which he had

* Now Marca Trevigiana.

† At the mouth of the river Natiso.

not made the least mention after the war for which he had vowed them.

CHAP. XXIII. This year was near expired, and Q. Postumius was not present to quit his office, Postumius having finished the inquiry with great exactness and fidelity, presided at the comitia, in which Ap. Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus were elected consuls. Next day, P. Cornelius Cethegus, A. Postumius Albinus, C. Afranius Stellio, C. Atilius Serranus, M. Postumius Tempfanus, and M. Claudius Marcellinus, were elected praetors. In the end of the year the consul Postumius informed the senate, that in his progress along both coasts of Italy for inquiring after the Bacchans, he had found the colony of Sipontus on the Adriatic shore, and that of Buxentum on the Etrurian sea, abandoned by the inhabitants. Upon this the city-prætor T. Manius appointed three commissioners, L. Scribonius Libo, M. Tuccius, and Cn. Baedius Tamphilus, to levy and carry new colonies thither. The Macedonian war with Perses, which was on the point of breaking out, had another cause than that commonly assigned, neither was Perses the author of it. It was designed by Philip, who, had not death prevented him, would have prosecuted it himself. Of all the hard conditions imposed on that vanquished prince, none gave him so much pain, as the senate's depriving him of the power to punish the Macedonians who had revolted from him in the war. Quintius, at settling the conditions, had referred that matter entirely to the senate, which gave Philip some hopes of procuring it. Besides, he was enraged, that after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, when he and Acilius separated, the one to besiege Heraclea and the other Lamia, the Roman, after taking the former, had ordered him to raise the siege of the latter, which surrendered to Acilius. The consul indeed, being in haste to get to Naupactus, whither the Ætolians

Ætolians had fled, to mollify the Macedonian, gave him leave to carry his arms against Amynander, king of Athamania; and added to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken in Thessaly. With little difficulty he drove Amynander out of Athamania, and got possession of several of his cities. He likewise reduced Demetrias, a city very strong, and most commodiously situated, together with the Magnesians. Then he added to his dominions also several cities in Thrace, where the late enjoyment of their liberty, to which they were unaccustomed, had raised a spirit of faction among their chiefs, and Philip took the part of the weakest in this civil dissension.

CHAP. XXIV. These conquests pacified the king's resentment against the Romans for the present. However, he never dropped his resolution of collecting forces during the peace, in order to employ them in war, as soon as a proper opportunity should offer. He increased his revenues by exacting the tenth of the produce of the lands, and laying customion foreign merchandise. He continued to work some mines which had been long shut up, and opened new ones, in many places. In order to repair the great loss of men who had been killed in the late wars, he obliged his subjects to marry and procreate children, and settled great numbers of Thracians in Macedonia. In short, during the whole time he had no war on his hands, he spared no pains to augment the strength and riches of his kingdom. He soon had fresh motives to revive his resentment against the Romans. The senate gave such ear to the Thessalians and Perrhaebians when they complained of Philip's being in possession of some of their cities, and to the Pergamenian deputies, remonstrating that he had violently seized the cities of Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of the inhabitants to Macedonia, a plainly shewed they were inclined to espouse their cause. What
made

made the deepest impression upon the Fathers was, intelligence that he was attempting to get possession of Ænos and Maronea. They were less concerned about Thessaly. Deputies likewise arrived from the Athamanians, not to complain, that they had lost only part, or the frontier-places of their country, but that the whole of it was subjected by Philip. Maronean exiles, whom his garrisons had expelled for defending their liberty, informed the senate that he was not only in possession of Maronea, but of Ænos. Philip sent ambassadors to vindicate himself. These affirmed, that he had done nothing without the permission of the Roman general. "The cities of Thessaly," said they, "Perrhaebia, the Magnesians, and Amynander, with his Athamanians, had all been engaged in the same cause with the Ætolians. After the defeat of Antiochus, the Roman consul, being engaged in besieging the towns of Ætolia, had sent their master to reduce the cities above mentioned, and to annex them to his dominions when he had taken them." The senate would not pronounce without hearing Philip himself, and therefore sent three commissioners, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, M. Baebius Tamphilus, and T. Sempronius, to examine into these differences. On their arrival in Greece, they appointed all the states which had a controversy with Philip, to meet at Tempe in Thessaly.

CHAP. XXV. Here the Roman deputies sat as arbiters. On the one side appeared the Thessalians, Perrhaebians, and Athamanians as accusers, and on the other Philip as a criminal, to hear and vindicate himself, from what they charged him with. The chiefs of the deputies expressed themselves with severity, or moderation, each according to their genius, affection, or hatred to the Macedonian. A doubt was started concerning Philippopolis, Tricca, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and other circumjacent towns, whether they did not in right belong to the Thessalians,

saliens, from whom they had been forcibly wrested by the Ætolians, in whose possession, beyond all controversy, they were, when taken by Philip, or had originally belonged to Ætolia. For Acilius had given them to the king on this express condition, that they belonged to the Ætolians, and joined them voluntarily without being compelled by force of arms. A like dispute arose about Perrhaebia and Magnesia. For the Ætolians, who had taken opportunities to seize them, had confounded their tenures, with a view to keep possession of them. To these doubtful points the Thessalians added their complaints. "Supposing," said they, "these cities were to be restored to us, we should receive only empty walls without effects, without inhabitants. Besides the men killed in the war, Philip has carried 500 young men of distinction into Macedonia, where he has employed them in servile offices far beneath their birth. In case he should be forced to restore any thing to us, he has taken care to render them useless. Thebes of Phthiotis was the only important sea-port we had, and formerly its traffic brought us in a great revenue. But Philip has turned the commerce into another channel, by causing the merchant-ships he has got to pass it, and unload at Demetrias. He could not even abstain from offering violence to the persons of our ambassadors, which are sacred by the law of nations. He laid an ambush for those that were going to Flaminius. He has so terrified all Thessaly, that none dare so much as mutter; either in the assemblies of our particular states, or in our public diets of the whole nation. The Romans, who were the authors of our liberty, are at a great distance; but we have on our confines an oppressive tyrant, who will not suffer us to enjoy the blessings the Romans intended us. What liberty does one enjoy, if debarred the freedom of speech? In reality, if we now presume

“ presume to groan rather than speak, is owing to
 “ the sure protection of you, commissioners. In •
 “ vain have you conquered the Macedonian, in
 “ vain have you restored liberty to the Greeks that
 “ border on his kingdom, if you do not remove
 “ their fears by checking his audaciousness. Like
 “ an ungovernable horse who throws his rider, he
 “ must be restrained by stronger curbs.” This last
 speech was very severe; whereas the deputies that
 spoke before endeavoured to soothe the king's resent-
 ment, “ by begging he would pardon the freedom
 “ they took in their speeches; that he would lay
 “ aside the severity of a master, accustom himself
 “ to behave like a friend and ally, and imitate the
 “ Romans, who chose rather to unite their allies to
 “ them by acts of kindness than fear.” After the
 Thessalians had been heard, the Perrhaebians insis-
 tered, that Gonocondylum, to which Philip had
 given the name of Olympias, belonged to them,
 and should be restored, with Malœa and Ericin-
 ium. The Athamanians insisted on being set free,
 and the restitution of the two forts of Athenæum
 and Pœtneum.

CHAP. XXVI. Philip, though accused, affected
 to be an accuser, and began with complaints. “ The
 “ Thessalians,” said he, “ have forcibly seized Me-
 “ nelais in Dolopia, which belonged to me. They,
 “ in conjunction with the Perrhaebians, have also ta-
 “ ken Petra a city of Pieria. They have annexed to
 “ their dominions Xiniæ; which, without contro-
 “ versy, belongs to the Ætolians, and Paracheloïs,
 “ which belongs to the Athamanians, and to which
 “ they had no right. But I am charged with vio-
 “ lences, with laying an ambush for ambassadors,
 “ with carrying trade to certain ports in prejudice
 “ of others. It is extremely ridiculous, to make
 “ me responsible for merchants and sailors, who
 “ chuse what ports they like best. The other
 “ charge is nowise agreeable to my character. For
 “ how

“ how many years have you, without interruption,
“ sent ambassadors to the Roman generals ; nay,
“ even to the senate at Rome, to complain of me ?
“ Did I ever insult them, even in words ? It is said,
“ that once I laid an ambush for some who were
“ going to Flaminius : but have they added what
“ became of them ? But this accusation retorts up-
“ on the accusers, who, not having any real crime
“ to object, have recourse to falsehoods. The
“ Thessalians, like persons after long thirst, impa-
“ tiently glut themselves with unlimited liberty,
“ insolently and immoderately abusing the indul-
“ gence of the Romans. They resemble slaves,
“ who, in their first transports of liberty, obtained
“ contrary to expectation, vent their licentiousnesses
“ in reproaches and invectives against their for-
“ mer master, giving an unbridled loose to their
“ tongues.” Then, heated with passion, he said,
“ The sun they insult is not set for ever.” Both
the Thessalians and Romans took this as a kind of
menace against themselves ; so that they raised a
murmuring noise in the assembly. When it had
subsided, Philip answered the Perrhaebian and Athamanian deputies. “ The case of the cities men-
tioned by both,” said he, “ is the same. The
“ Romans, and their consul Acilius, gave them
“ to me, as belonging to their enemies. If they
“ incline to recall their gift, I am sensible I must
“ give them up ; but they will thereby do a mani-
“ fest injury to a better and more faithful friend,
“ to gratify fickle and useless allies. The grateful
“ sense of liberty is sooner effaced than that of any
“ other favour, especially with them who spoil it
“ by the bad use they make of it.” When both
parties were heard, the commissioners pronounced,
“ That Philip should evacuate those cities, and that
“ the kingdom of Macedonia should be confined to
“ its ancient limits. As to the reciprocal injuries
“ both

" both complained of, they would settle a method
" for accommodating them."

CHAP. XXVII. This decree exasperated the king. Then the deputies set out for Thessalonica, to hear the case of the cities of Thrace. There the deputies from Eumenes spoke first. " If," said they, " the Romans intend to make Ænos and Maronea free, our master will not be so audacious as to oppose it. Give us leave, however, to offer an humble advice; let them enjoy a real, not a nominal liberty, and do not suffer your gift to be intercepted by another person. But, Romans, if you are not so favourably inclined towards the cities in Thrace, it is much more reasonable that Eumenes should obtain those towns formerly subject to Antiochus as a reward of his services in the war, than that Philip should get possession of them. This he may justly claim, either on account of the services his father Attalus performed in the war the Romans had with this very Philip; or his own, who was present in all the dangerous and fatiguing enterprises during the war with Antiochus. In this case, he can likewise plead a former sentence of ten Roman commissioners, who gave him a grant of Chersonesus and Lysimachia, and by consequence of Maronea and Ænos, which, by their neighbourhood to them, are appendages to the larger countries granted him. As to Philip, in what respect has he deserved so well of the Romans, or by what right of dominion has he placed garrisons in cities so remote from the confines of Macedonia? Be pleased to call in the Maronites; they will give you fuller information concerning the state of those cities." The Maronites being introduced, thus began. " Not only our citadel, as usual in other towns, but many other posts, nay, all Maronea is full of Macedonian guards. The favourers of Philip's party are absolute masters there,

" there. They alone have liberty to speak in our
 " senate and assemblies. They either seize all honourable offices to themselves, or confer them on
 " whom they please. Every person of worth, who
 " would zealously maintain our liberties and laws,
 " is either banished, deprived of honourable posts,
 " or, being subject to men much inferior to them
 " in merit, dare not mutter a word." They also
 added some few observations on their just limits.
 " When Q. Fabius Labeo was in our country, he
 confined Philip within the old great road, which
 ran by the mountains of Thrace, and prohibited
 him from turning towards the sea, but he has
 turned it so far, that the cities and territories of
 Maronea are comprehended within it."

CHAP. XXVIII. Philip answered these charges in a way very different from what he had done those of the Thessalians and Perrhaebians. "It is not," said he, "with the Mæonites and Eumenes only, that I have a contest, but also with you, Romans, from whom I have long perceived I can obtain no justice. I thought it reasonable that the Macedonian cities, which had revolted from me during the truce, should be restored; not that they would have been of any great accession to my dominions, (for they are small towns, and situated in the extremities of it), but because the example would have been prevalent to restrain the other cities of Macedonia. Yet this you denied me. In the Ætolian war your consul Acilius desired me to besiege Lamia. After many fatigues in raising works, and bloody attacks, the town was on the point of sealing the walls, he recalled me from the town, of which I was almost master, and obliged me to march off my troops. As some consolation for this injury, he gave me permission to recover a few castles rather than cities of Thessaly, Perrhaibia, and Athamania. Even those, Q. Cæcilius, you took from me a few days ago. Just now, the ambassadors of Eu-

"menes, hearken O ye gods, presumed upon it as
 "a thing beyond doubt, that it was more equitable
 "to give what had belonged to Antiochus, to their
 "master than to me. I am of a quite different opi-
 "nion. For, if you had not only not proved vic-
 "torious, but if you had not made war upon the Sy-
 "rian, Eumenes could not have maintained the pos-
 "session of his kingdom. He, therefore, is obliged
 "to you, not you to him. But so far was any part
 "of my dominions from being in danger, that I re-
 "jected the Syrian's offers; when he promised me
 "3000 talents *, fifty ships of war, and all the Greek
 "cities of which I was formerly possessed, as a re-
 "ward of an alliance with him. Nay I declared my-
 "self an enemy to him, even before Acilius landed
 "in Greece with a Roman army. In conjunction
 "with this consul I entered into the war, conducting
 "whatever part of it he committed to me. When
 "his successor, L. Scipio, resolved to march his ar-
 "my by land to the Hellespont, I not only gave
 "him a free passage through my dominions, but le-
 "velled roads for him, built bridges, and furnished
 "him with provisions. This I did not only through
 "Macedonia, but also through Thrace, where, be-
 "sides other services, I protected him from the ho-
 "stilities of those barbarians. For this zeal, let me
 "not call it merit, ought not you, Romans, to have
 "granted me some accession of dominion, to have
 "amplified and augmented my kingdom by your
 "munificence, rather than strip me of what I al-
 "ready possess, either in my own right or by your
 "favour? You own the towns of Macedon to be
 "mine, and yet they are not restored. Eumenes
 "comes to spoil me, in the same manner he did
 "Antiochus. Nay, witness heaven, to cloak a most
 "impudent falsehood, he pretends a sentence of the
 "ten former commissioners. But this decree will be
 "the clearest and strongest confutation of this trea-

* 581,250 l.

"cherous

"cherous claim. It is therein most plainly and explicitly said, that to Eumenes is made a grant of Chersonesus and Ly simachia. But where are Ænos, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace mentioned? What he did not so much as dare to ask of them, shall he obtain from you, as having had a former grant of them from the ten commissioners? It next concerns me to ask, on what footing you intend to put me? If you propose to pursue me as an enemy, go on as you have begun. But if you have any regard for me as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I conjure you not to think me deserving of so great an injury."

CHAP. XXIX. This speech a little moved the commissioners, and they made a more moderate decree. If the cities in question have been given to Eumenes by a decree of the ten commissioners, we will make no alteration in it. If Philip has taken them in war, let him keep them as the reward of victory. If neither of these are true, it is our pleasure that the cognisance of the affair be referred to the senate, and in the mean time the Macedonian garrisons shall be withdrawn, that things may be on an equal footing between the contending parties." These were the causes which alienated Philip from the Romans; and it would seem that his son Perseus had no new motives, but what his father had bequeathed to him, of that war which he carried on against them. At Rome they had not the least suspicion of a Macedonian war. L. Manlius the pro-consul had returned from Spain. His important victory gave him a right to demand a triumph, when he had his audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona. But there was no precedent in former times, where a triumph had been granted to a general, except he had brought back his army, or had delivered his province in perfect tranquillity to his successor. However, he entered the city in an ovation. Between his chariot were carried fifty-two crowns of gold, v. 2. D 2

pound weight of gold *, and 16,300 of silver †. Besides, he told the senate that his quæstor Q. Fabius was bringing 10,000 pound weight of silver ‡, and eighty of gold ‡, which he would likewise carry into the treasury. That year there was a terrible insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. L. Postumius was prætor of Tarentum in the neighbourhood. He pursued a banditti of shepherds, who infested the highways and public pastures, with so much severity that he condemned near 7000. Many of these made their escape, and many were put to death. The consuls having been long detained in Rome by making the levies, at length set out for their provinces.

CHAP. XXX. During the same year, C. Calpurnius and L. Quinctius, prætors in Spain, quitted their winter-quarters early in the spring, and united their forces in Baeturia †. Then they advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy were incamped ready to act with one mind and counsel. Not far from Hippo and Toledo, a skirmish happened between the foragers on both sides. Supports being sent from each camp by degrees brought out the whole armies. However, as it was a tumultuous encounter, at which the enemy were most dexterous, besides their having the advantage of the ground, the Romans were routed and driven to their lines. But the enemy did not pursue them. The Roman prætors, to avoid being stormed in their camp next day, marched away silently in the night. At break of day the Spaniards approached it in order of battle; contrary to their expectation they found the Romans had abandoned it with precipitation during the night, so they entered and rifled it. Then they returned to their own, where they remained quiet for several days. About 5000 Romans and Latins were killed in the battle and flight. The enemy armed themselves with their spoils, and then marched to the ri-

* 5856 l. † 43,900 l. ‡ 30,000 l. || 3840 l. † Between the Quadalquivir, and the Gradiana in the farther province.

ver Tagus. The Roman prætors spent the interim in drawing auxiliaries from the Spanish cities in their alliance, and reviving the spirits of their soldiers, whom the late defeat had quite sunk. As soon as they thought they had strength sufficient, and their troops demanded to be led against the enemy to wipe off their former disgrace, they moved their camp within five miles of the Tagus. From thence they decamped at the third watch, and arrived by day-break at the banks of the river, in a square battalion. The enemy were entrenched on an eminence on the other side. Immediately Calpurnius to the right and Quinctius to the left passed the river by two fords. All this time the enemy made no motion. They were confounded at the Romans sudden arrival, and were consulting how to harass them in their fording the water. The prætor having got their baggage over and laid in one place, and seeing the enemy move, and that they themselves had not room to incamp, drew up in order of battle. In their centre were posted the flower of their troops, the fifth legion under Calpurnius, and the eighth under Quinctius. Between them and the enemy was an open plain, where they had no ambush to dread.

CHAP. XXXI. As soon as the Spaniards saw the two Roman armies on the hither side of the river, they joined and formed as fast as possible, and in order to gain the plain before them, poured out of their lines, and advanced to the attack. At first the battle was very bloody, the Spaniards being flushed with their recent victory, and the Romans exasperated by their disgrace, which they were strangers to. However, the action was hottest in the centre, where the two legions maintained the fight. When the enemy found them impregnable to all their efforts, they formed a pointed battalion, and with multitudes following each other in close order pressed hard upon them. When Calpurnius perceived his legions tottering, he sent a lieutenant-general to each of them; T.

Quinctilius Varus and L. Juventius Thalna, to encourage them. He ordered these officers to tell them, "That all the Roman hopes of reducing and keeping Spain depended on them. If they should give way, none of their army would ever see either Italy or the other bank of the Tagus." He himself with the cavalry of two legions fetched a small compass, and flanked the pointed battalion, which was pressing hard on his centre. Quinctius also with his horse took them in the other flank. However, the Calpurnian cavalry fought with the greatest ardour, and the prætor outdid them all. He killed the first enemy with his own hand, and penetrated so far amongst them that it was scarce possible to discern to which side he belonged. Yet his valorous efforts spirited on the horse, as theirs did the foot. Shame roused the first centurions, when they saw the prætor among the enemy. So they thrust forward the ensign-bearers, ordering them to advance with the colours, and the soldiers to follow with expedition. Upon this they all set up a new shout, and fell, like a torrent from a hill, upon the amazed enemy. They bore down all before them, nor could the Spaniards sustain their charge, they rushed so close one after another. The Roman cavalry pursued the enemy to their camp, and entered it pell-mell with them. Here those who had been left to guard it renewed the battle, and the Romans were forced to dismount and fight on foot. The fifth legion soon arrived to their support, and after them the other troops rushed in as they best could. Only 4000 Spaniards escaped out of their camp. 3000, who had never quitted their arms, seized an adjacent eminence, and about 1000 half-armed dispersed over the country. This was all that survived of 35,000 men. The Romans took 133 ensigns. They lost only, Latins included, 600 with 150 Spanish auxiliaries. Yet they reckoned it a bloody victory, as they had five legionary tribunes and several Roman knights killed.

As

As they had not had leisure to throw up lines of their own, they staid all night in those of the enemy. Next day at a full assembly Calpurnius commanded and rewarded his cavalry with rich furniture for their horses, declaring the defeat of the enemy and taking their camp had been principally owing to their gallant behaviour. Quintius rewarded his with collars and clasps of gold. Many centurions of both armies, especially those who acted in the centre, were also rewarded.

CHAP. XXXII. The consuls having completed the levies, and finished their other affairs at Rome, led their army into Liguria. From Pisa Sempronius marched into the country of the Apuans, where, by ravaging the lands, burning their villages and castles, he made a broad way through the forest from the river Macra to the port of Luna. The enemy fled to a high hill, the usual retreat of their ancestors. However, the consul dislodged them from this difficult post. Claudius did not fall short of his colleague either in success or valour among the Ingarians, whom he defeated in several battles. Besides, he took six of their towns, where he made many prisoners, and beheaded forty-three of the ringleaders in the war. The time of the elections was now approaching. It had fallen to Sempronius by lot to preside at the elections; but Claudius prevented him by getting first to Rome, because his brother P. Claudius was one of the candidates. He had three patrician competitors, L. Æmilius, Q. Fabius Labeo, and Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who had formerly been candidates. As the tribes had formerly rejected their suits for that honourable office, they were under the greater obligations to serve them now. Besides, four patricians suing for one place, increased the difficulty. The plebeian candidates also were men of great interest, L. Porcius, Q. Terentius Culleo, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. They had also been formerly rejected, but with assurances that they should

should some time or other be raised to that dignity. Claudius was the only new candidate. The people were all inclined to confer the consulate on Q. Fabius Labeo, and L. Porcius Licinus. But Claudius, without his lictors, led his brother in his hand through the tribes, while his adversaries and the majority of the senate remonstrated aloud, “ That Claudius ought rather to remember that he was a consul than that Publius was his brother. It was his business to sit upon the tribunal either as presiding, or a silent spectator of the elections.” However, he could not be restrained from zealously mixing with the crowd. The assembly was likewise disturbed by the contest among the tribunes, some of them blaming and others commanding his zeal in serving his brother. At length Appius prevailed, and engaged the tribes to reject Fabius, and chuse his brother. Thus he got the fasces contrary to his own and all mens expectations. L. Porcius Licinus maintained his ground, because his competitors were moderate men, who did not, like Claudius, use violence to support their claims. Then the elections for praetors were held. And C. Decimus Flavus, P. Sempronius Longus, P. Cornelius Cethagus, Q. Naevius Matho, C. Sempronius Blæsus, and A. Terentius Varro, were raised to that dignity. These were the civil and military transactions, during the consulate of Ap. Claudius and M. Sempronius.

CHAP. XXXIII. In the beginning of the following year, and consulate of P. Claudius and L. Porcius, the three commissioners, Q. Cæcilius, M. Baebius, and Ti. Sempronius, who had been sent to accommodate the differences between Philip, Eumeenes, and the states of Thessaly, returned, and gave an account of their negotiation; they likewise introduced the deputies of these kings and states to the senate. These only repeated what had been said in Greece. Then the senate appointed a new commission, at the head of which was Appius Claudius, to go

go into Greece and Macedonia, and examine whether Philip had restored the cities he promised to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhaebians, and to order him to evacuate Ænos and Maronea, and all the places wherein he had garrisons on the coasts of Thrace. They were also directed to go to Peloponnesus, where the former commissioners had left every thing in the same unsettled condition, in which they found them. For, besides other affronts, the Achæans had refused to assemble a diet to give them audience, and dismissed them without an answer to their demands. Q. Cæcilius complained heavily of this treatment. The ambassadors from Lacedæmon also complained that their walls had been demolished, their people carried off and sold for slaves in Achæa, and that they had been deprived of the laws of Lycurgus, which till that time had been the main support of their state. The Achæans excused the charge brought against them by Cæcilius, by citing a law, which prohibited the summoning a diet, except to deliberate on peace or war, or when ambassadors came from the senate with letters or written instructions. To prevent this excuse for the future, the senate represented, that as they had audience of the Fathers whenever they pleased, so they should take care that Roman ambassadors should have the same privilege in Achæa.

CHAP. XXXIV. After the deputies were gone, and Philip had learned from his, that he must absolutely deliver up and evacuate the cities, though he was enraged against them all, yet he wreaked his vengeance principally against the Maronites. He gave orders to Onomastus, governor of the sea-coast, to massacre the chief men of the faction that opposed him. Onomastus employed Casander, one of the king's officers, who had long lived at Maronea, to let in a body of Thracians by night, and then sack it, as if it had been taken by storm. The Maronites complained to the Roman commissioners

" of

" of the cruelty exercised upon their innocent people, whom they had butchered like enemies, and
 " the insult that thereby was done to the Romans,
 " whose senate had decreed that they should be
 " free." Philip denied, " that either he or any of
 " his officers had any hand in it. In the heat of
 " their quarrels, while some declared for him, and
 " others for Eumenes, they had cut one another's
 " throats. This you may be fully informed of, if
 " you will examine the Maronites themselves." This he proposed from a confident assurance, that they were all so terrified with the recent massacre, that they would not dare to mutter a word against him. But Appius answered, " It was needless to
 " make inquiries about a thing already known. If
 " Philip intended to clear himself, he should send
 " Onomastus and Casander, who were said to have
 " committed the crime, to Rome, to be examined
 " by the senate." Philip changed colour, and was so confounded, that he could not utter a word: yet recovering himself, he said, " As to Casander, who
 " was then at Maronea, I will send him whenever
 " you will. But how could Onomastus have a hand
 " in it? He had neither been in Maronea, nor near
 " it." He was more desirous to save Onomastus, because he was a greater favourite; and was more afraid of his discovering his secrets, because he had been much in his confidence, and been employed by him in many such execrable commissions. It was believed, that to prevent Casander's telling tales he dispatched some persons through Epirus, to overtake him before he embarked, and they poisoned him.

CHAP. XXXV. When the conference broke off, the commissioners let Philip plainly see, that they were dissatisfied with his conduct. This convinced Philip the war would soon be renewed. But not being sufficiently prepared for it, to gain time, he resolved to send his youngest son Demetrius to Rome,

Rome, both to clear himself of the crimes with which he was charged, and to mollify the resentment of the senate. He flattered himself, that this son, who when a hostage at Rome had given indications of a princely disposition, would have great influence with them. In the mean time he set out with a great army, under pretext of aiding the Byzantines. But his real view was, to strike terror into all the petty kings of Thrace. Accordingly, having vanquished them in a battle, and taken their general Amadocus prisoner, he returned to Macedonia, after having sent to solicit the barbarous nations on the Ister to make an irruption into Italy. The Roman commissioners, who had been ordered to go from Macedonia into Achaia, were impatiently expected in Peloponnesus. That the Achæans might have an answer ready for them, Lycortas the prætor summoned an assembly beforehand, to consult about the affairs of Lacedæmon. "The Spartans," said they, "of our enemies are become our accusers. They are like to prove more formidable to us, now they are vanquished, than they were when at war with us. For the Romans then assisted us, but now shew more favour to them. This is owing to Areus and Alcibiades, two Spartan exiles, whom we reinstated in their country. They, who were under such strong obligations to us, have gone on an embassy to Rome, and there inveighed as bitterly against us, as if we had banished them instead of restoring them to their native country." At which words the whole assembly cried out, to move the diet to punish them. In consequence, they took counsel only of their passion, and, without hearkening to reason, condemned them to death. Within a few days the Roman commissioners arrived. A diet was summoned to meet at Clitor, a city of Arcadia, to give them audience.

CHAP. XXXVI. But before they entered on any deliberation,

deliberation, the Achæans were struck with a panic. When they saw Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had condemned in a former diet, in the retinue of the commissioners, they reflected under what disadvantages they were to plead their cause; neither indeed durst any of them mutter a word. Appius told them the senate was extremely displeased with their conduct in regard to what the Spartans had complained of. "In the first place, they are offend-
 "ed, that, contrary to the public faith, those whom
 "Philopœmen had cited to vindicate themselves,
 "had been killed in a tumultuary encounter. In
 "the next place, after they had satiated their re-
 "sentment, by the death of these innocent men,
 "that their cruelty might extend to every thing,
 "they had raz'd the walls of that superb city, abo-
 "lished its ancient laws, and exterminated the in-
 "stitutions of Lycurgus, celebrated for their wis-
 "dom over all that country." This speech of Ap-
 pius was answered by Lycortas, both because he
 was prætor of Achaia, and because he was of the
 same faction with Philopœmen, who was deemed
 the author of all that had been acted at Lacedæmon.
 "We find more difficulty, Appius Claudius," said
 he, "to speak before you now, than we did some
 time ago before your senate. Then we had only
 the accusations of the Lacedæmonians to answer;
 but now our judge is become our accuser. How-
 ever, we submit to enter this unequal list, in
 hopes, that you will lay aside the prejudices and
 prepossessions you just now shewed, and hear us
 with the impartiality of an honest judge. What
 you have just now repeated being the same com-
 plaints which the Lacedæmonians formerly laid
 before Q. Cæcilius in this country, and afterwards
 before the senate of Rome, I shall look upon my-
 self as answering them, not you. It is objected,
 that those who were demanded by our prætor
 Philopœmen, were murdered, when they came
 "to

“ to his camp to plead their cause. I thought, Romans, that we should never have been charged with this as a crime, either by you, or before you. But perhaps you will ask, Why, was it not an express article of the treaty granted by you, that the Lacedæmonians should not meddle with the maritime towns? And yet they took arms, and in the night forcibly seized those cities which you had forbidden them to touch. Had Flaminus with a Roman army been, as formerly, in Peloponnesus, they would have applied for relief to him, when they were thus treacherously surprised and taken. But as your aid was so remote, into whose arms could they throw themselves, but into ours, who were your allies, and whom they had seen before succouring the Grecians, and attacking Lacedæmon in conjunction with you, and for a like cause? It was then to avenge your quarrel, that we undertook this just and pious war. Others commended this step we took, and even the Spartans cannot charge it upon us as a crime. The very gods approved it, when they granted us victory. How comes it then that we are called to an account for what the rights of war warrant? Besides, the greatest part of the accusation doth not concern us. Have we any thing more to answer for, than that we sent for those to vindicate themselves, who had excited their mob to take arms, had taken and rifled the maritime towns, and sacrificed their principal men? Can we be charged with killing them on their way to our camp? No. You are the guilty persons, Areus and Alcibiades, who, may the gods forgive you, now are become our accusers. The Spartan exiles (of which number those two were) who served then in our army, imagining their countrymen aimed at taking away their lives, because they had chosen the maritime cities as their retreat, fell upon them,

" being enraged, that it was by their means they
 " had been banished from their native country,
 " and been prevented from spending their old age
 " in safe and quiet exile. It was not we then, but
 " the Lacedæmonians, who killed their country-
 " men ; whether justly or unjustly, it does not con-
 " cern us to dispute.

CHAP. XXXVII. But you will say, that beyond
 " controversy it was the Achæans who abolished
 " the ancient laws and institutions of Lycurgus,
 " and destroyed the walls of Sparta. But how can
 " we be charged with both these, by the same men,
 " when the walls of Sparta were not built by Ly-
 " curgus, and only a few years ago with a view to
 " abolish his wise regulations ? Their tyrants late-
 " ly built them, not as a defence for the city, but
 " as a citadel and fortress for themselves. Was
 " Lycurgus this day to rise from the dead, he would
 " rejoice to see them in ruins, and would own,
 " that now he knew it to be the ancient Sparta,
 " and really his native country. You, Spartans,
 " should not have waited till Philopœmen and the
 " Achæans had demolished and razed your walls,
 " but ought to have performed that work with your
 " own hands. They were (so to speak) the de-
 " formed scars of your slavery. After you had li-
 " ved free during 800 years without walls, nay, for
 " some part of that time, had been lords of Greece,
 " you have been penned up for 100 years within
 " walls, like slaves with fetters on their feet. As to
 " the taking away your laws, I may boldly affirm,
 " that your tyrants abolished your ancient statutes.
 " So far from depriving you of them, we gave you
 " our own, when you had none. In that we con-
 " sulted the interest of your state. We thereby
 " incorporated you into our own, that in Pelopon-
 " nesus there might be only one state, one form
 " of policy. In consequence, then, I think, they
 " might have complained of having been hardly
 " dealt

"dealt by, they would have had cause of resentment, if we have lived under one form of laws, and enjoined them a different one. I am sensible, Appius, that my speech is not at all suitable from allies to allies, or to an independent republic; but has the air of a dispute between slaves, before their master. For if the voice of your herald, which proclaimed our freedom, before that of any other state, was not an empty sound, if the treaty made with us was firmly ratified, if the amity and alliance between us is to be honourably maintained, may not I as well inquire about your proceedings, when you took Capua, as you demand an account of our treatment of the Lace-dæmonians, whom we vanquished in war? Suppose we put some of them to death; what then? Did not you behead the senators of Capua? We demolished their walls. Well! you not only dismantled Capua, but took the city and its territories from the inhabitants. You will say, that the treaty between us is only in appearance equal, but in reality, our liberty is precarious, and Rome is our mistress. I am sensible of it, Appius; and if I must not, I will not be angry. But I implore you, whatever difference there is between your condition and ours, let not your enemies be on an equal, nay, a better footing with you, than us your allies. That they might be upon an equality with us, we gave them our own laws, and made them part of our body-politic. But the vanquished are not satisfied with what contents the conquerors. Your enemies demand privileges above what your allies enjoy. Yet they would have us sacrifice our faith, and violate a treaty, ratified by the most solemn oaths, and engraved on stone as a perpetual monument to all posterity. No, Romans, we honour you more, nay, if you will, we fear you; but still we reverence and dread the immortal gods more." The

majority of the audience heard this speech with great approbation, and all thought he had spoke with that dignity that became his office, insomuch as it was visible the Romans could not maintain their authority by gentle management. Appius with an imperious air advised the Achæans to conciliate favour by a voluntary compliance, while they had it in their power, lest they shoud soon be compelled to it against their inclination. This magisterial language drew groans from the whole assembly, but they were afraid to refuse doing what they were ordered. They only begged, that the Romans themselves would make what alterations they pleased with respect to the Lacedæmonians, and not force the Achæans sacrilegiously to break their oaths. Appius contented himself with disannulling the sentence of death that had been passed against Areus and Alcibiades.

CHAP. XXXVIII. In the beginning of the year, when the senate was moved to determine the provinces of the consuls and prætors, they allotted Liguria to both the consuls, because they had war no where else. The prætor Flavus by lot got the jurisdiction of the city ; Cethagus, that of foreigners ; Flæsus, Sicily ; Matho, Sardinia, with commission to inquire into some treacherous practices by poison ; Varro the hither, and Longus the further Spain. About the same time messengers arrived from Thalna and Varus, who commanded in those provinces. After they had informed the senate what a vast war they had terminated, they demanded that thanks should be returned to the immortal gods for their victory, and that the prætors should be allowed to bring back their armies. A supplication was appointed for two days, but they deferred determining about bringing back the legions, till the provinces of the consuls and prætors were settled. A few days after the two legions which Claudius and Sempronius had commanded in Liguria, were allotted

allotted to the new consuls. Then ensued a great struggle about the armies in Spain between the new prætors and the friends of Thalna and Varus, who were absent. Both consuls and plebeian tribunes took different sides in the contest. One party declared, they would interpose their authority, in case the senate should order the armies to be brought back ; and the other affirmed, that if that negative was put, they would not suffer any other business to be transacted. At last the friends of the absent prætors were obliged to submit, and the senate passed a decree, “ That the new prætors should “ levy 4000 Roman foot, and 400 horse, with 5000 “ Latin infantry, and 500 cavalry, to carry into “ Spain. After they had incorporated them in the “ legions there, they should disband all above the “ number of 5000 foot and 300 horse in each le- “ gion. In discharging them they should first have “ regard to those who had served the greatest num- “ ber of campaigns, and next to those whom Thal- “ na and Varus should recommend for their valour- “ ous exploits.”

CHAP. XXXIX. No sooner was this contest ended, than the death of the prætor C. Decimius Flavus occasioned another. The candidates for his office were Cn. Sicinius and L. Pupius, who had been ædiles the preceding year, C. Valerius priest of Jupiter, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. The latter, being curule ædile elect, appeared without a white robe, but stirred more than all the rest. He had a violent struggle with the flamen. At first, it appeared he had only an equal number of votes ; but soon after, when it was evident he had a majority, some of the plebeian tribunes insisted that no regard should be had to him, because one person could neither take nor discharge two magistracies at once, especially curule ones. Others of them, on the contrary, declared it reasonable that the laws should be dispensed with in this case, that the people might be

left at liberty to confer the prætorship on whom they pleased. At first the consul Porcius seemed resolved not to admit his name in the list of candidates. But in order to have the authority of the Fathers for this step, he assembled the senate, and told them, "That it was a thing unprecedented, and contrary to law, in a free state, for a curule ædile elect to stand for the prætorship. For his part, he was resolved, unless they pleased to order the contrary, to hold the comitia in the manner prescribed by law." The Fathers recommended to him to deal with Fulvius, not to obstruct the holding the comitia in a legal manner for electing a prætor in the room of C. Decimius. The consul used his interest with him agreeable to the senate's order; and Fulvius answered, "That he would do nothing unworthy of his character." This answer of his, which was not sufficiently explicit, made the consul and senate hope, they might hence conclude, that he acquiesced in the authority of the Fathers. But at the time of election he canvassed with more fury than ever, accusing the consul and senate of a design to wrest from him the favours of the Roman people, and to render him odious by a false insinuation, that he intended to keep two offices; as if it was not clear, that as soon as he should be nominated prætor, he must resign the ædileship. When the consul saw that the candidate persisted with greater obstinacy in his suit, and that the people were more and more inclined to favour him, he dismissed the comitia, and assembled the senate. The Fathers unanimously decreed, that since Flaccus paid no regard to their authority, the consul should expostulate with him before the people. Accordingly an assembly was called, and the consul used his interest with him to desist. But it made no impression on Fulvius. On the contrary, he thanked the Roman people for their zealous intentions to chuse him, and shewing

ing their affection to him whenever they had opportunity. And he was resolved never to renounce the favour they had for him. This obstinate speech inflamed their affection for him to such a degree, that he had certainly been elected prætor, if the consul would have suffered his name to be put in the list. The tribunes had a great struggle among themselves, and with the consul, till the latter assembled the senate, who passed a decree, “ That since, “ by the obstinacy of Q. Flaccus, legal comitia could “ not be held for the election of a new prætor, “ it was their opinion, that they needed none, and “ that Cethagus should have both the jurisdictions “ in the city, and celebrate the games in honour of “ Apollo.”

CHAP. XL. The prudence and steadiness of the Fathers having put an end to these comitia, there happened a more violent struggle, both by its being for a higher office, and between a greater number of powerful competitors. L. Valerius Flaccus, the two Scipios, Africanus and Asiaticus, Cn. Manlius Vulso, and L. Furius Purpureo, all patricians ; and four plebeians, M. Porcius Cato, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Ti. Sempronius Longus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, used their utmost efforts to be elected censors. But Cato's merit was far superior to that of his patrician and plebeian rivals, though descended of families of the greatest distinction. He possessed such a magnanimity of soul and strength of genius, that in whatever state he had been born, he must have raised himself to the highest dignities. He wanted no talent requisite for private or public life. He was equally skilled in city and country business. Knowledge of the law has raised some to honourable offices, eloquence another, and military abilities a third : but Cato had so universal a genius, that whatever he applied it to, nature seemed to have designed him for that alone. In war he was a valiant and hardy soldier, and eminently distinguished by many

many particular acts of valour. When he did arrive to a chief command, he proved a very able general. In times of peace his knowledge of the Roman laws and constitution qualified him to be an able counsellor, and in pleading at the bar he shewed himself a great orator. His eloquence did not only shew its strength during his life, without leaving some monuments behind it. It still lives, and will be immortal by his excellent compositions of all kinds. He pronounced many orations in defence of himself and friends, and many against his adversaries. For he not only teased his adversaries with accusations, but even with defences of himself. He was not only tormented himself with malicious suits, but even re-torted them upon others. Neither can it be easily determined, whether the nobility were greater enemies to him, or he to them. He certainly had a severe and rugged temper, and was immoderately plain and poignant in satirical invectives. He had a heart invincible to voluptuous passions and appetites, and the whole tenor of his life was free from taint of vice. He despised favours and riches. He was so abstemious, indefatigable in fatigues, and intrepid in dangers, that it might be said he had a body and courage of iron. Nay, old age, which subdues all things, could not break his great spirit. When he was eighty-six years old, he took his trial, and both spoke and wrote in his own defence. In the goth year of his age, he prosecuted Sergius Galba before the people.

CHAP. XLI. The nobility opposed him with vigour during all his life, but more particularly when he stood for offices; and at this time all the candidates except L. Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulate, united their interest to exclude him from this honour. This they did not so much from a desire to obtain it for themselves, or because they could not endure to see a NEW MAN chosen censor; but because they foresaw his censorship would be au-
stere,

stere, and dangerous to the reputations of many, as he had received many personal injuries, and had a strong passion to resent them. In this canvassing he even used menaces, loudly declaring that they opposed him because they dreaded a free and vigorous censorship. At the same time he recommended the cause of Flaccus, insisting that himself and so firm a colleague were alone capable of checking the new abuses, and restoring the ancient discipline. These considerations made so strong an impression on the minds of the people, that, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the nobility, they not only raised Cato to the censorship, but gave him Flaccus for his colleague. After this election was over, the consuls and prætors set out for their provinces, all except Nævius. He was to have gone to Sardinia, but had been detained four months in the cognisance of the poisoning practices. He held his court, as more convenient than in the city, for the most part in the municipal towns and market-places. If we may believe Valerius Antias, he condemned above 2000 persons. L. Postumius, prætor of Tarentum, punished the gang of shepherds who infested the roads, and with great rigour exterminated the remains of the Bacchanalians. Many of them who had run away from their bail, or had not appeared when cited, but lurked in those parts of Italy, he either condemned, or sent them to Rome, where P. Cornelius threw them all into prison.

C H A P. XLII. As the last battle in further Spain had quite broke the strength of the Lusitanians, that province was in perfect tranquillity. A. Terentius took Corbio in the country of the Sueftani, and sold the prisoners for slaves. By this means the hither province continued quiet all the winter. The former prætors Thalna and Varus returned to Rome, and the Fathers unanimously decreed a triumph to both. Thalna had his first for the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He carried in procession eighty-three crowns of

of gold, and 12,000 pound weight of silver. A few days after Varus triumphed for the same people, and carried in procession the same quantity of silver and gold. The censors, Cato and Flaccus, reviewed the senate, who both expected and dreaded their severity. They degraded seven members, among whom was L. Quinctius Flaminius, a man of consular dignity, and eminent both for his birth and the honours he had enjoyed. Some ages before it had been made a rule, that the censors, when they stigmatised any senator, should give their reasons for so doing. Besides other severe speeches of Cato's, those he made against the senators and knights he degraded are still extant. But that against L. Quinctius is so solidly severe, that if he had pronounced it as an accuser, before he had stigmatised him, and not after as censor, even T. Flaminius, Lucius's brother, had he been censor, could not have kept him in the senate. Amongst other crimes, he charged him with having enticed, by promises of great presents, a noble Carthaginian, named Philip, for whom he had conceived a detestable passion, to go with him into Gaul. When the consul lasciviously played the wanton with this pathic, he used to upbraid him, that in complaisance to his lover he had just left Rome, when a combat of gladiators was to be exhibited. It happened, that as they were at table and exhilarated with wine, the consul was informed that a Boian nobleman with his children was come as a deserter, and desired to speak with Lucius in person, that he might put himself under his protection. Being brought into the general's tent, he began to address him by an interpreter. In midst of his speech the consul said to his favourite pathic, " Since in complaisance to me you left the shew of gladiators, will you see this Gaul, die a violent death?" Hardly with a serious air did Philip nod an assent. But the consul upon the signal of this prostitute drew his sword, which hung above his head, and first struck the Gaul as he was speaking,

speaking, over the head, and then pursuing him as he fled, imploring the protection of the Roman people, and of those who were present, run him into the side.

CHAP. XLIII. Valerius Antias, who, without having ever read Cato's oration, gave credit to a fabulous report, tells this story with different circumstances, except as to the consul's detestable passion and cruelty. He says, that while Quinctius was at Placentia, he sent for a courtesan, whom he doted on, to an entertainment, where, among other bravadoes, he told her, how rigorous he had been in taking cognisance of the rebellion, and how many prisoners he had in chains whom he had condemned to be beheaded. As she sat next below him at table, she told him she had never seen an execution, and had a great curiosity to see one. Her indulgent lover immediately ordered one of the wretches to be brought, and beheaded before her. This was a cruel and horrid action, whether the matter be as Valerius represents it, or as Cato laid it in the indictment. For what could be more shocking, than amidst wine and good cheer, where it was customary to invoke the blessing of the gods, to sacrifice a human victim, and sprinkle the table with his blood to gratify a wanton whore who leaned on his breast? Cato, in the conclusion of his speech, desired that if Quinctius intended to deny that particular fact, and what else he had objected to him, he should first give surety to pay a certain fine in case he was convicted; but if he confessed it, to consider that none would grieve at the mark of ignominy put upon him, who, mad with lust and wine, had in pastime taken away a man's life at an entertainment.

CHAP. XLIV. In reviewing the knights, he took the horse furnished at the public charge from Aficius. In taxing the estates of the senators, he was extremely rigid and severe. He ordered his clerks to register all the womens trinkets, rich cloaths and chariots,

chariots, which could be estimated at above 15,000 asses ; also the slaves under twenty years of age, which any one had purchased since the last lustrum, either at or above the price of 10,000 asses. All these he ordered to be taxed at ten times more than they cost ; so that the possessors paid at the rate of three per 1000 for them. These censors also cut off the public waters which run into the houses or fields of private persons, and ordered all private houses that were built on the public ground, and the balconies of private houses to be pulled down within thirty days. With the money produced by these taxes, they lined with free-stone the basins that held the water, cleansed the old common sewers, and built new ones on mount Aventine, and other places where there had been none before. Flavius undertook, separate from his colleague, to lay a causey to the springs of Neptunium, and to level a road over the mountain of Formiae. Cato purchased for the public two pieces of ground in the place where criminals were punished, from Mænius and Titius, and four shops. He likewise built there a court of justice, which was called Porcius's hall. The censors also raised the public revenues, which before had been let at a low price. Yet the senate, moved by the prayers and tears of the farmers, ordered those leases to be cancelled, and the revenues to be auctioned anew. But the censors by an edict removed from the place of auction all who had been concerned in disannulling their leases, and with some small abatement let them to others. This was a very remarkable censorship, but it involved Cato, who was reckoned the author of the severity with which it was exercised, in many suits, which tormented him as long as he lived. This year colonies were settled at Potentia* in Picinum, and Pisaurum † in Cisalpine Gaul. Each

* It took its name from a river rising in the Apennines, and falling into the Adriatic.

† Now Pesaro, in the duchy of Urbino.

planter had seven acres of land assigned him. The same commissioners as formerly, Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Fulvius Flaccus, and Q. Fulvius Nobilior, divided the lands, and settled the colony. The consuls of this year did nothing remarkable either at home or abroad.

CHAP. XLV. The consuls for the next year were M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Fabius Labeo. The very day they entered into their office, they moved the senate to determine their and the praetors provinces. The new praetors were C. Valerius Flaccus, priest of Jupiter, who had been a candidate the preceding year, Sp. Postumius Albinus, P. Cornelius Sisenna, L. Pupius, L. Julius, and Cn. Sicinius. The province of Liguria, with the armies commanded by Cladius and Porcius, the preceding consuls, were allotted to the present. Two praetors of the former year were continued in Spain. It was ordered that the priest of Jupiter should only cast lots for the offices in the city. He got the jurisdiction of foreigners; Sisenna, that of citizens; Albinus, Sicily; Pupius, Apulia; Julius, Gaul; and Sicinius, Sardinia. Julius was ordered to repair to his province with all expedition. Some of the Transalpine Gauls having entered Italy by defiles hitherto unknown (as we have already mentioned), were building a city in the country of the Veneti, near Aquileia. The praetor was ordered to interrupt their work, without employing force of arms, as long as he could avoid it; and if there was a necessity to compel them to desist by arms, he should apprise the consuls of it. For it was the senate's pleasure that one of them should lead the legions against them.

CHAP. XLVI. Towards the end of the preceding year, the comitia had been held to chuse an augur in room of Cn. Cornelius, who had died some time before. Sp. Postumius Albinus was chosen to succeed him. In the beginning of this year, P. Licinius Crassus, the pontifex maximus, died, and to his office

of priest was chosen M. Sempronius Tuditanus, and to that of pontifex maximus, C. Servilius Geminus. Licinius's funeral was honoured with a dole of raw flesh, and a combat between sixty pair of gladiators. His funeral games lasted three days, and after them a grand entertainment. When the tables were spread for this purpose, all over the forum, so great a storm arose with terrible rain, that most of the company were obliged to pitch tents to cover them. They were removed as soon as the weather became fair; and hereby it was said the Romans got rid of a religious fear occasioned by a prophecy in the Sybila books, that they should be obliged to pitch tents in the forum. But another cause of fear soon succeeded this; it rained blood for two days in the court-yard of the temple of Vulcan. To expiate this prodigy, the decemvirs ordered a supplication for two days. Before the consuls set out for their province, they introduced the ambassadors from beyond sea into the senate. Never before had so great a number of foreigners been seen at Rome. From the time the report had spread among the states bordering upon Macedonia, that the Romans had given a favourable hearing to the charges and complaints brought against Philip, and that many had found their advantage in it; a great number of states and nations, nay even private persons, to whom Philip had proved an oppressive neighbour, came to Rome, in hopes either of obtaining redress of their grievances, or at least to have the consolation of deplored them. Eumenes had sent a deputation, at the head of which was his brother Athenaeus, to complain, that Philip had not yet evacuated Thrace, and of his having sent aid to Prusias, king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes.

CHAP. XLVII. The person who was to answer all the charges brought against Philip, was his son Demetrius, who was then very young. But it is not easy to remember every particular objected to him,

him, with their answers. For besides that the articles were very many in number, they were for the most part of less consequence than disputes about towns ; viz. controversies about land-marks, carrying off men and cattle, about partial administration of justice, or refusing it altogether ; about sentences passed either by force or favour. The senate, perceiving that Demetrius could not give a distinct answer, or set the controversy in a true light, besides concerned to see a young prince, unaccustomed to speak in public, quite confounded, ordered him to be asked, whether the king his father had not given him some memorandums relating to the business. He answering in the affirmative, they thought it best to hear the king's own answers, to each particular article. So they immediately demanded a sight of the notes, and then gave him permission to read them himself. His answers to each particular were very short ; some things he had done in pursuance of the decrees of the Roman commissioners ; and that he had not executed others, was to be charged on his accusers, not on him. He had larded his defence with complaints of the injustice of the decrees ; that the dispute before Cæcilius had not been managed with equity, and as if he had had no merit, every person had insulted him. The senate looked upon those as plain indications of Philip's being greatly irritated against them. However, as his son apologised for some, and as to others promised, that for the future the senate's pleasure should be exactly observed in every thing, they thought fit to give him the following answer. “ Philip could not have acted a wiser part, or one more agreeable to the senate, than sending his son Demetrius to apologise to the Romans for his conduct. As to what is past, we can overlook, forget, and endure many things, and for the future we believe we may rely on the promises of Demetrius. Though he is in person to return to his father, yet he leaves his heart as a hostage with us ; and we are sensible,

F 2

“ that

" that he will be a friend to the Romans, as far as is
 " consistent with his duty to his father. Out of re-
 " gard to him, we will send another embassy to the
 " court of Macedon, that, without mentioning past
 " acts of disobedience, what had been neglected to
 " be performed at the time stipulated may now be
 " done. And let Philip remember, that he is en-
 " tirely indebted to our regard to his son Demetrius,
 " for this indulgence of the Romans."

CHAP. XLVIII. These marks of distinction, con-
 ferred with a view to gain the young prince credit with
 his father, soon excited envy against him, and in the
 sequel turned to his destruction. Then the deputies
 from Sparta were introduced. They made many tri-
 fling complaints. The only demand of consequence
 that they made was to know, whether those whom
 the Achæans had condemned should be restored ;
 whether the persons they had put to death had suffer-
 ed justly ; and lastly, whether they were to remain
 a part of the Achæan state, or, as formerly, enjoy
 their own laws and privileges, distinct from the states
 of Peloponnesus. The senate decreed, that the con-
 demned persons should be restored, and the sentence,
 against them reversed ; that Lacejæmon should be a
 part of the Achæan body, and that both parties
 should sign and seal this decree. Q. Marcus was
 sent ambassador to Macedonia, with orders likewise
 to take cognisance of the affairs of the allies in Pe-
 loponnesus. For the old animosities still occasioned
 some troubles in that country, and the Messenians had
 separated from the Achæan body. But should I enter
 into a detail of the causes and progress of that war,
 I should forget the rule I laid down to myself, not
 to meddle with foreign affairs, farther than they are
 connected with those of Rome.

CHAP. XLIX. However, I must mention one me-
 morable incident of it. Though the Achæans had
 by far the advantage in the war, yet their prætor Phi-
 lopœmen was taken prisoner, as he was marching to
 seize

seize Corone, before the enemy could be masters of it. He was surprised in a defile with a few horse. It is said that he himself might have escaped by the help of some Thracians and Cretans. But he was ashamed to abandon his cavalry, who were the finest youth of the nation, whom he had lately engaged to follow him to the war. In order to facilitate their escape out of the defile, he posted himself in the rear, to sustain the charges of the enemy. But his horse stumbling, he fell to the ground and the animal above him, so that he was left motionless. He was then seventy years of age, and but very weak, having been just recovered from a fit of sickness. The enemy rode over him as he lay in this posture. But as soon as they knew him, from a grateful regard to his person, and a remembrance of his exploits, they took him up, as if he had been their own general, brought him to himself, and carried him out of the defile into the highway. They could scarce believe their eyes, they were so overjoyed at this unexpected prize, and some of them sent expresses to Messene, to inform their countrymen, that the war was finally ended, for they were bringing Philopoemen prisoner. At first the thing seemed so incredible, that they looked upon the messenger, not only as a liar, but as a madman. But one after another arriving with the news, convinced them at length that it was true. Nay before they were sufficiently certain that he was near the city, free men and slaves, women and children, all ran out to see him. As none would give absolute credit to the news, till they had each been eye-witnesses of the truth of it, they pursued out in so great a hurry that they choaked up the gates. They who guarded him had great difficulty to make their way through the crowds they met, and get in at the gates. The press was so great, that they locked up all the rest of the street. As the greatest part of them had been excluded from the show, they filled the theatre, that stood hard by the street; and with

one voice demanded, that he should be brought thither and shewn to them. The magistrates and principal men, fearing lest the presence of so great a man should excite the people's compassion, and raise some commotion, as some might be affected by the comparison of his former majesty with his present condition, and others by the remembrance of his great exploits, placed him in their view at a great distance. But they hurried him away precipitately, their praetor Dinocrates pretending, that the magistrates had some questions to ask him concerning the state of the war. So they carried him to the senate-house, where the members being assembled, they began to deliberate about his fate.

CHAP. L. The day was drawing towards a close, and so far were they from being able to determine other things concerning him, that they did not know where to secure him during the ensuing night. They were confounded when they reflected on the greatness of his former fortune and valour, and none of them would venture to keep him in his own house, or trust him to the custody of any one citizen. At last some of them hinted the putting him in a subterraneous cavern, which was called the treasury, the mouth of which was stopped with a great stone. Into this they put him bound, and then by a crane put a great stone to stop it up. Thus relying more on the strength of this place, than on the fidelity of any man for his safe keeping, they with impatience longed for morning. Next day the multitude, calling to mind the former service he had done their state, unanimously declared for sparing him, that by his means they might find a remedy for their calamities. But the authors of the revolt, who had the chief administration of the state in their hands, in a private meeting resolved he should be put to death. The only dispute among them was, whether their sentence should be executed immediately, or delayed for some time. But that party which thirsted

thirsted for his blood, prevailed to have a cup of poison sent him directly. When he received it, he said no more, than calmly asked the executioner, whether Lycortas, the other Achæan general, had escaped safe with the horse. When the executioner answered in the affirmative, he said, Thanks to the gods, and drinking the potion without the least emotion, expired within a few hours. However, the joy of the cruel authors of his death was very short-lived. For the Achæans, having vanquished the Messenians, demanded the assassins. The bones of Philopoemen were restored, and were buried by the whole state of Achaia, who, in conferring all earthly honours upon his remains, could not even forbear worshipping him as a god. Greek and Latin historians had so great an opinion of this general's worth and abilities, that some of them have handed down to posterity, that this year was particularly remarkable for the deaths of the three greatest captains of their time, Philopoemen, Hannibal, and Scipio Africanus; so much did they think him worthy to be ranked with the two most illustrious generals of the two most powerful states.

C H A P. LI. T. Quinctius Flaminius was sent ambassador to Prusias king of Bithynia, whom the Romans suspected of hostile intentions, because he had given refuge to Hannibal when he fled from Antiochus, and besides, had made war upon Eumeus. Prusias, either because Flaminius complained, that he entertained the most inveterate enemy of the Romans then living, who had stirred up war against them, first in his own country, and then, when its power was reduced, had excited Antiochus to take up arms; or because he had a mind to gratify Flaminius and the republic, formed the design either of killing, or delivering up the Carthaginian to him. Accordingly, immediately after the first conference with the Roman ambassador, he posted guards on Hannibal's house. This illustrious Carthaginian, observing

observing the Romans unabating hatred to him, and having little dependence on the fidelity of the kings with whom he took refuge, had laid his account with ending his days in some such manner. Besides, he had experienced Prusias's levity, and with horror looked on the arrival of Flamininus, as what would prove fatal to him. To provide against the dangers that threatened him on all sides, and to have a means of escape always ready at hand, he had made seven different passages from his house, some of them very secret, to prevent guards being posted on them. But the orders of kings have so great an authority in them, that nothing can be long concealed which they would have discovered. The Carthaginian's house was beset by guards in such a manner, that none could escape from it. As soon as he was informed that the royal guards were in his porch, he attempted to fly out at the most concealed passage. But finding even that closely guarded, as well as all the rest, he called for the poison, which he had long before prepared against such an occasion. "Let us," said he, "deliver the Roman people from the apprehensions they have had so long, since they have not patience to wait the death of an old man. Flamininus's victory over a man disarmed and betrayed, will not do him much honour. This day's action will be an immortal proof of the change in the Roman manners. Their ancestors warned Pyrrhus, while an enemy and in the heart of their country with an army, to beware of being poisoned. But they have sent an ambassador of consular dignity to persuade Prusias to violate the laws of hospitality in the best manner." After having vented imprecations against Prusias and his kingdom, and invoked the vengeance of the gods, the protectors of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the fatal draught.

CHAP. LII. Thus died the illustrious Hannibal.
Polybius

Polybius and Rutilius both say, that Scipio died this year. But I must differ both from them and Valerius. From them, because I find, that, during the censorship of M. Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, the latter was chosen prince of the senate, which honour Africanus had enjoyed during the two preceding lustra : now, had he been living, none could have been chosen in his room, unless he had been expelled the senate, a disgrace which no historian says he ever met with. What confutes Antias, is the time when M. Nævius, against whom Africanus's speech is still extant, was tribune of the people. From all the marbles it appears he exercised this office during the consulate of P. Claudio and L. Porcius, but entered upon it on the tenth of December, when Ap. Claudio and M. Sempronius were consuls. Now, three months intervene betwixt that and the fifteenth of March, when P. Claudio and L. Porcius entered on their office. Thus it appears that he was alive during the tribunate of Nævius, who, it is possible, might have prosecuted him, but was dead before the censorship of Cato and Valerius. Hence also it appears, that the deaths of the three most illustrious generals of their own nation are not so much to be compared with regard to the time, as the manner, for the end of none of them was suitable to the splendour of their lives. In particular, they agreed in this circumstance, that none of them died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were both taken off by poison. The former, when an exile, was betrayed by the prince who entertained him ; and the latter, being taken prisoner, died in chains and in a jail. Scipio, indeed, was neither banished nor condemned ; but being cited as a criminal to defend himself on a day fixed for his trial, he did not appear, and not only retired into a voluntary banishment during his life, but ordered his body to be buried in a foreign soil.

CHAP. LIII. During the transactions in Peloponnesus,

nesus, from which I made a short digression, the return of Demetrius and the ambassadors into Macedonia affected the people there very differently, according to their different dispositions. The generality of the Macedonians, who were terrified at the thoughts of a rupture with Rome, looked with a favourable eye on Demetrius, in hopes he would prove the author of a peace. They likewise considered him as the prince who was to ascend the throne after the death of his father. For though he was younger than Perse, yet he was born in lawful wedlock, whereas the other was the son of a concubine. As the latter was born of a common prostitute, he bore the likeness of no certain father; but Demetrius favoured his father Philip exceedingly. They imagined likewise, that the Romans, with whom Perse had no credit, would place the crown on the head of their favourite prince. These things were the subject of public conversation. Accordingly, Perse was very uneasy, when he reflected, that his seniority would prove but a weak title, since his brother was his superior in every other respect. Philip, likewise, from a firm persuasion that it would not be in his power to dispose of the succession as he pleased, looked with a very jealous eye upon his younger son. He was highly offended to see the great numbers of Macedonians that flocked to him, and was enraged to see another court formed even in his lifetime. The young prince himself had brought an air of haughtiness from Roine, piquing himself upon the favourable judgment the senate had formed of him, and their granting him many things which they had refused to his father. Every thing he said with regard to the Romans indeed gained him favour and honour with the rest of the Macedonians, but proportionably increased the hatred, not only of his brother, but even of his father, against him; and more particularly after the arrival of the new ambassadors from Rome. They obliged Philip to evacuate and abandon Thrace,

ce, and perform every article in the decree of former commissioners, or the new one of the se-

He complied, but with extreme reluctance scontent, and the rather, as he saw his son pay court to the deputies than to himself. How- he obeyed every thing the Romans insisted on, e might give them no reason to make war up- m immediately. In order therefore to avert picion of his real designs, he carried his arms' ie heart of Thrace, against the Odrysæ *, Dan- e, †, and Beffi ‡. He took Philippopolis, the inhabitants had abandoned, having fled to igbouring mountains with their families. Then aged the lands of the barbarians who lived in ains, and forced them to submit to him. Af- s, leaving a garrison in Philippopolis, which diyſæ soon after expelled, he resolved to build in Deuriopus. This is a region of Pæonia he river Erigonus, which, rising in Illyricum olding its course through Pæonia, falls into the

AP. LIV. This new city stood near the old f Stobi, and he ordered it to be called Perseii- a honour of his eldest son. While these things in Macedonia, the consuls had set out for their ices. Marcellus sent a messenger before him, orders to the prætor to approach the new city auls were building with the army. On the ar- of the consul, the Gauls, to the number of o armed men, surrendered. Most of them had their arms by force out of the country: these, ll the booty they had got by pillaging, and ver they had brought with them, he took from

This so exasperated them, that they sent de- to Rome to complain of him. Being introdu- to the senate by C. Valerius the prætor, they de-

the neighbourhood of the river Hebrus and mount Rhodope.
t the springs of the Hebrus.

at mount Haemus. Their chief town is now called Adrianople.
clared,

clared, " That they were grown so numerous in their own country, that for want of room and they had been obliged to pass the Alps in quest of a settlement. Where they saw a desert and cultivated country, there they had settled without offering violence to any person. There they began to build ; which was an evident proof that they had not come with a view to seize either land or water by forcible means. Lately M. Marcius had sent to tell them, that he would make war on them if they did not surrender. Accord- ingly preferring a sure, though less honourable peace than the hazards of war, they had put themselves under the protection of the Romans, but not subjecting themselves to them. A few days after being ordered to quit that country and city, they had resolved to go to any other they could find ; but their goods and every thing else they had, had been taken from them. So they conjured the senate and Roman people not to treat them, who were innocent, as enemies who had surrendered voluntarily, with greater severity than they did enemies." The senate ordered the following answer to be given them : " You were wrong in coming into Italy, and attempting to build a city on ground belonging to others, without permission from the Roman magistrate, whether he be the government of that province. However you abhor your being spoiled after you had surrendered. Therefore we will send ambassadors with you to our consul, who shall order him to restore all the goods longed to you, provided you return to the country from whence you came ; who shall pass the Alps and tell the Gauls to keep their multitudes at a distance. The Alps are a barrier between us and them ; they ought not to be passed. Whoever shall pass them shall meet no better fate than those who passed them first." L. Furius Purpureo, Q. Minucius L. M. Acidinus went with them. The Gauls

their effects restored without the least loss, and then quitted Italy.

CHAP. LV. The Transalpine nations received the Romans civilly. Their old men even reproached them for their lenity and indulgence. “ You have ‘ dismissed with impunity,’ said they, ‘ men, who, ‘ without authority from their state, went to seize ‘ the land of your republic, and attempted to build ‘ a city on a foreign soil. They ought to have been ‘ made pay dear for their temerity. By restoring ‘ them their effects, we are afraid others may be ‘ excited in hopes of like indulgence to make the ‘ same attempt.’ ” They not only entertained their ambassadors civilly, but made them handsome presents. The consul Marcellus, having driven the Gauls out of his province, began to form the plan of a war against the Istrians, and wrote to the senate for an order to march against them. The senate accordingly sent it him. They were then deliberating about sending a colony to Aquilia, but they were not determined, whether it should be Latins or Romans. At last they resolved on sending the former. The commissioners chosen to settle it were, P. Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius, and L. Manlius Acidinus. This year they also sent Roman colonies to Modena and Parma. For that purpose 2000 men were taken out of the country lately possessed by the Boii, and formerly by the Etrurians. Those of Parma had eight acres of land apiece, and those of Modena five. The commissioners who led them thither were M. Æmilius Lepidus, T. Æbutius Carus, and L. Quintius Crispinus. They likewise sent a colony of Roman citizens to Sardinia in the territory of Caletra, under the direction of Q. Fabius Labeo, C. Afranius Stellio, and T. Sempronius Gracchus. Each planter had ten acres of land.

CHAP. LVI. The same year the proconsul A. Terentius defeated the Celtiberians several times in

the territories of the Ausetani, near the Ebro, and took several fortified towns which they had there. Further Spain remained quiet. The proconsul of it P. Sempronius had fallen sick of a lingering illness, and the Lusitanians, haying none to excite them to rebel, very seasonably abstained from all hostilities. The consul Fabius performed nothing memorable in Liguria. M. Marcellus was recalled out of Istria, and, after disbanding his army, returned to Rome to preside at the elections. The fasces were transferred to Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus and L. Æmilius Paullus. The latter had been curule ædile with M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was consul five years before, after he had met with two repulses in suing for that office. Then Q. Fulvius Flaccus, M. Valerius Lævinus, P. Manlius a second time, M. Ogulnius Gallus, L. Cœcilius Denter, and C. Terentius Istra were chosen prætors. In the end of the year, a supplication was made on account of prodigies. It was sufficiently certain, that it had rained blood in the area of the temple of Concord. It was reported, that a new island had rose out of the sea, near Sicily, where there had been none before. Valerius Antias says, that Hannibal died this year, to compass whose death L. Scipio Asiaticus and P. Scipio Nasica had been sent to Prusias, besides Flaminius, whose name is most famous in that affair,

B O O K X L.

A B R I D G M E N T,

I. Philip's design of putting to death the children of those persons he had either imprisoned or murdered. Theoxena persuades her own and sister's children to put an end to their lives by the dagger or poison: She and her husband throw themselves into the sea. V. The quarrel between Persæ and

emetrius. XVI. Affairs in Liguria and Spain. A debate between Mafinissa and the Cartbaginians. A pestilence over all Italy. XX. The quarrel between Philip's sons terminated by the poisoning of Demetrius. XXV. Æmilius Paullus attacked in his camp by Ligurians. Puts them to the rout, takes their camp, liges them to surrender. XXIX. The books of Numipilius found by some diggers, and publicly burnt.

Success in hither Spain against the Celtiberians. V. Successes in farther Spain, Corsica, and Sardinia. The Ligurians obtain a perpetual peace. XXXV. Pestilence rages more and more. XXXVII. The consul's cæsarian suspicions of foul practices, on which his wife emmended. XXXVIII. 40,000 Apuans transplanted to him; the two proconsuls for this obtain a triumph; & who had one without having made war. XXXIX. s, proprætor in hither Spain, is surrounded and attainted in a defile, but extricates himself with great slaughter of the enemy. XLI. Affairs in Liguria. 7000 of transported to Samnium. M. Fulvius Nobilior, for ing the legions before the arival of the consuls, ban-

XLII. Gentius, king of Illyricum, complained of thoriising piracies. XLV. A severe winter at Rome. . Æmilius and Fulvius censors. XLVII. Affairs in Hispania. LIV. Death of Philip. LVII. Perses suc-

I. IN the beginning of the ensuing year, the consuls and prætors drew lots for provinces. The consuls had no other province but Liguria. The jurisdiction of the citizens Gallus; that of foreigners to M. Valerius; Spain to Flaccus; the farther to Manlius; to Denter; and Sardinia to Istra. The prætors were ordered to make new levies. Q. s sent advice from Liguria, that the Apuani were on the point of rebelling, and that it was to be red they would make an incursion upon the territories of Pisa. They knew already that the Celtiberians in hither Spain were up in arms, and

that the long sickness of the prætor of the farther had occasioned a relaxation of military discipline, and the troops indulged themselves in luxury and ease. For this reason new levies were made. Four legions, each containing 5200 foot and 300 horse, with 15,000 Latin infantry and 800 cavalry, were appointed for Liguria. These were to compose the two consular armies. Besides, 7000 Latin foot and 600 horse were ordered to be sent into Gaul to M. Marcellus, who was continued in his command another year. Orders were also given to raise 4000 Roman foot with 200 horse, 7000 Latin infantry, and 300 cavalry, to be sent to the two Spains. Q. Fabius Labeo was also continued another year at the head of his army in Liguria.

CHAP. II. This proved a very boisterous spring. About noon of the day before the festival of Pales* there arose so violent a storm of wind and rain, that it threw down many edifices, both sacred and profane, the brazen statues in the Capitol, and carried the wicket of the temple of Luna as far as the back of the temple of Ceres. It also overturned other statues in the great circus, with the pedestals on which they stood. It likewise uncovered several temples to the very beams, and scattered the materials of their roofs far and wide. This storm was turned into a prodigy, and the haruspices ordered expiations to be made for it. It was also reported, that a mule had been foaled at Reate with three feet; and advice arrived from Formiæ, that the temple of Apollo at Cajeta had been struck with lightning. To expiate these prodigies, twenty of the larger sacrifices were offered, and a supplication appointed for one day. About the same time letters arrived from the proprætor A. Terentius with the accounts of the death of P. Sempronius, who died in the further province after he had been sick above a year. For this reason the prætors were ordered to hasten their

* The 20th of April.

departure for Spain. Then the foreign ambassadors had audience of the senate. The first introduced were those of Eumenes, Pharnaces, and the Rhodians, who complained of the destruction of the Sinopenses. About the same time also arrived the ambassadors of Philip, the Achæans, and Lacedæmonians. They had their answer immediately after Marcius, who had been sent to examine into the state of Greece and Macedonia, had given an account of his commission. The senate told the kings of Asia and the Rhodians, that they would send commissioners to inquire into the causes of their complaints.

CHAP. III. Marcius increased the Fathers apprehensions about Philip. He owned indeed, that he had complied with what the senate had decreed, but in such a manner, as made it evident he would do so no longer than necessity obliged him. He likewise affirmed, that it was manifest he would renew the war; for every thing he said and did pointed that way. First of all, he drew all the natural inhabitants with their families out of the maritime cities into Emathia, formerly called Pœonia, and supplied their place with Thracians and other barbarians, who he thought would adhere more faithfully to him in a war with the Romans. This occasioned great murmurs throughout his whole dominions. Few of those people, who with their wives and children were leaving their native soil, could contain their inward grief and anguish; but hated getting the better of their fears, as they went along in troops, they uttered the most terrible curses against the king. This increased the fury of his temper so much, that he became jealous of every man, every place and time. At last he declared openly, that he could confide in nobody, unless he secured in prison the children of those he had murdered, designing likewise to put them to death one after another.

CHAP. IV. This detestable cruelty was rendered much more so by the effect it had on one particular house. He had many years before put to death Herodicus, the chief man among the Thessalians, and afterwards did the same by his sons-in-law. His daughters were by this means left widows, with each of them several small children. Their names were Theoxena and Archo. Theoxena despised the addresses of many suitors. Archo married Poris, by far the most illustrious lord of the Æneates, by whom she had several children, and dying, left them all very young. Then Theoxena married Poris, that she might have the bringing up of her sister's children, of whom she took the same care as if they had been her own. But afterwards hearing of the king's edict for seizing the children of those he had put to death, she formed a most atrocious design, for fear that they should not only be prostituted by the king, but to the keepers of the prison. She even ventured to declare, that she would kill them with her own hands, rather than suffer them to fall into Philip's. Poris, abhorring the very mention of so shocking an action, answered, she might carry them to some faithful friends of his at Athens, and he would accompany them in their flight. Accordingly they set out from Thessalonica to a festival celebrated annually by the Æneans with great pomp, in honour of Æneas their founder. After they had spent the day at the festival, they embarked at the third watch, when all were asleep, on board a vessel which Poris had provided for the purpose. Their design was to go to Eubœa. But as the wind was contrary, day-light surprised them before they got far from shore, notwithstanding their utmost efforts. Upon this the king's guards, who had the care of the port, sent out an armed sloop, with strict orders not to return without the vessel at their peril. When they approached them, Poris was solely employed in exhorting the rowers and

and sailors, and sometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, implored the help of the gods. But his undaunted lady, revolving in her mind the daring purpose she had long before formed, mixed a poisonous draught, and brought out a dagger. Setting the cup in view, and drawing the dagger, she said, "Death is our only refuge. Here are the means of it. Let each chuse the way they like best, in order to avoid the king's tyranny. Come, my boys, who are the oldest, take you first the dagger, or the poison, if you chuse a more lingering death." What could they do? the enemy was at hand, and the mother conjuring them to die: some dying by the sword, and others by the poison, were thrown half dead over board. Then the lady, locked in the arms of her husband, leaped into the sea, and they died together. Thus the king's guards got the vessel without their prize.

CHAP. V. This horrible action raised a new storm of envy against Philip, so that all men vented curses and imprecations upon him and his children. All the gods heard them, and soon inspired him with a thirst for the blood of his own family. For Perseus, seeing his brother Demetrius rise daily in favour and esteem with the Macedonians, and credit with the Romans, and that all his hopes of succeeding to the crown centered in wicked calumnies, bent his thoughts entirely that way. But believing himself alone not sufficiently capable of executing his effeminate purpose, he resolved by dark and distant hints to sound the inclinations of each of his father's courtiers. At first none of them hearkened to him, abhorring the mention of such a crime, and because they had better hopes of his brother than of him. But as Philip's hatred to the Romans, which Perseus cherished, and Demetrius used his utmost efforts to remove, daily increased, some of them, foreseeing the fate of the latter, who was not sufficiently on his guard against the fraudulent intrigues of his brother,

fided

fided with Perse, thinking it the best policy to promote what otherwise they saw would succeed, and to flatter the hopes of the stronger party. Every thing else they left to time to determine. For the present they contented themselves with exasperating the king against the Romans, and urging him by their advice to enter into a war, to which his mind, of itself, was much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius daily more suspected by his father, they agreed to introduce conversations tending to depreteiate the Romans. Some ridiculed their manners and institutions, and others the meanness of their city, as void of all decorations either in its private or public buildings ; nay, some derided all its great men. The unguarded young prince, transported by his love of the Romans, and the pleasure of crossing his brother, by defending every thing they ridiculed, rendered himself suspected by his father, and furnished his adversaries with specious grounds of accusation against him. Accordingly Philip excluded him from all councils on the Roman affairs. He became entirely devoted to Perse, and night and day communicated all his thoughts to him relating to the Romans. About that time returned the ambassadors whom the king had sent to the Bastarnæ *. They had brought many of the young nobility of that country, and even some of the blood royal, one of whom promised Perse his sister in marriage. The alliance of this nation elevated the king. Then Perse represented to him, " What advantage will this derive to you ? Foreign aids will be but small protection against the dangers that threaten you from a domestic traitor. I will not say you entertain a traitor, but at least you do a spy, in your bosom. The Romans have sent back the body of your hostage, but still keep his heart. All your subjects adore him, and they expect to have no other king, but him whom the Romans shall give them." These words revived

* Inhabiting Podolia and Volhinia.

alousy of the old king, and though he did not to be moved with them, they deeply wounded art.

AP. VI. The time for reviewing the army was

The ceremony observed in it was as follows. is sacrificed and cut in two : one part with the is placed on the right side of the road, and her on the left. Between those parts of the , the soldiers march under arms. First of all the suits of arms worn by their kings from the of their race, followed by the king and his en. Then came the king's body-guards with st of the troops ; and last of all the people. king was supported by his two sons, the eldest , and the youngest twenty-five years of age. was arrived at his full vigour, and Demetrius in the bloom of youth. Happy the father to have ns of mature age, had he been sensible of the g. It was customary when the solemn proces- f the review was over, for the army to file two divisions, and engage in a kind of battle : mmand is given to the two young princes. It not a mere representation, for they fought as as if it had been for the crown. Many ls were given and taken with headless pikes, and y wanted of a real action was weapons. But vision commanded by Demetrius had the ad- e. This gave Perse great pain, while the of his friends said, it would furnish him with of accusation against him.

AP. VII. That day each of the princes pro- an entertainment for those who had fought on ide. Demetrius invited Perse, but he refused. ver, their good fellowship and mirth was very and they plied the wine very hard. They of the mock-fight, and jested upon their adver- without even sparing the generals. Perse sent a join their company, and he heard all. But ng himself indiscreetly, was turned out of the room

room by four young gentlemen, who handled him very roughly. Demetrius, who was ignorant of this, said, “ Come, let us go partake with my brother, and, “ by our sincere and simple mirth, dispel the anger “ he may retain for his defeat in the combat.” All the guests expressed their consent by a shout, except those who dreaded present revenge for beating the spy. But Demetrius would drag them with him, and they hid swords under their garments, in order to defend themselves, in case any violence should be offered them. Where there is domestic variance, nothing can be concealed. A busy person ran before, and informed Perseus, that Demetrius was coming with four armed men. Though he knew the cause of it, (for he had been told his spy had been beaten), yet, to aggravate the matter, he ordered the doors to be locked, and from a high story, where the windows faced the street, he desired those who came to be merry with him, to be gone, as if they had come to murder him. Demetrius, exhilarated with wine, exclaimed against the shutting him out, and returned to his own feast entirely ignorant of the real cause.

CHAP. VIII. Next day, as soon as Perseus could get access to his father, he went to court with great uneasiness in his looks, and stood long before the king without speaking. Philip asked him whether he was well, and what was the cause of his melancholy? Perseus answered, “ You see, my Lord, I am alive; “ but thanks to good fortune. My brother is now “ open in his attempts against my life. Last night “ he came with armed men to my house to assassinate “ me. I owe my preservation to having shut my “ doors, and being within strong walls.” This filled the king with astonishment and fear; which Perseus observing, said, “ If your Majesty will give me a “ hearing, I will convince you of the truth of my ac- “ cusation.” Philip answered, he would, and immediately sent for Demetrius. He took for assessors in this

this cause two courtiers, Lysimachus and Onomastus, both old men, who knew nothing of the quarrel between the princes, and seldom appeared at court. Whilst they were sent for, he walked in great perplexity to and fro alone (for Perses stood at a distance) making many serious reflections. Being informed they were come, he carried them and two of his body-guards into an inner apartment. He allowed his sons to bring each of them three unarmed attendants. Then sitting down, he spake thus. “ Wretched fa-
“ ther that I am ! I am to find one of my sons a ca-
“ lumniator, or the other guilty of parricide ; one of
“ you must be stained with forgery, or the other
“ with a most unnatural crime. I have long been
“ afraid this impending storm would burst, when I
“ beheld your mutual coldness and conversations un-
“ becoming brothers. But still I flattered myself
“ that your animosities would subside, and your jea-
“ lousies vanish. Even enemies, thought I, have
“ laid down their arms, and entered into a league of
“ amity, and differences between private persons
“ have had a period ; in like manner, will my sons
“ remember their ties of blood ; how in their infan-
“ cy they maintained an affectionate commerce ; and
“ will reflect upon my fatherly precepts, which, alas !
“ I am afraid were inculcated to no purpose. How
“ often have I set before your eyes horrid examples,
“ and the fatal consequences, of differences between
“ brothers ? how they have exterminated their race,
“ overwhelmed families, and utterly subverted king-
“ doms ? I have set before you examples of the con-
“ trary, and their salutary effects. The affectionate
“ concord between the two Spartan kings, the happy
“ fruits of which they and their country reaped for
“ many ages. How the ruin of that very state was
“ owing to each of their kings ambitiously wresting
“ all the authority to himself. How even in our own
“ days, by brotherly love and harmony, Eumenes
“ and Attalus have, from beginnings so mean that
“ they

“ they were almost ashamed to take the title of kings, “ equalled themselves to me, Antiochus, and any “ monarch of the present age. Nay, I did not he- “ sitate to propound to you such examples among the “ Romans as I had either been eye-witness of, or “ heard by report ; of the two Quintii who prosecu- “ ted the war against me ; of the two Scipios, who “ vanquished Antiochus ; of their father and uncle, “ who, after having acted in concert during their “ lives, were even united in their deaths. But nei- “ ther the former examples of vice, with their dismal “ and merited end, nor the latter instances of virtue “ and wisdom, crowned with the most salutary con- “ sequences, could induce you to be wise. While I “ breathe and live, both of you from a vain hope “ and criminal ambition affect my throne. You de- “ sire me to live no longer than till one of you dies, “ and then by death to leave the other without a ri- “ val of the crown. Neither of you can endure ei- “ ther a father or brother. You have neither natural “ affection nor regard for sacred duties. An unsa- “ tiable ambition to mount a single throne, has u- “ surped the place of all virtuous passions in your “ breasts. Come then wound a father’s ear with “ your unnatural disputes. Let your reciprocal ac- “ cusations be the preludes to a bloody war between “ you. Speak openly all that is truth, and whatever “ you can falsely devise. My ears are now open, “ but from henceforth shall be for ever shut against “ your secret accusations of each other.” This he said in a violent passion, and it drew tears from all their eyes, and their sorrow kept them for some time in a profound silence.

CHAP. IX. Then Perse began. “ I ought then to “ have opened my gates at unseasonable hours, and “ let in armed guests ; I ought to have held out my “ throat to be cut, since I cannot be believed, except “ the foul deed had been actually committed ; and “ since I, whose life was sought, hear myself inveighed
“ against

“ against as if I was a robber and assassin. It is not
“ then without ground, that people say you have on-
“ ly one son, Demetrius, and that I am a suppositi-
“ tious one, born of a concubine. For if you vouch-
“ safed me either the rank or affection due to a son,
“ you would not inveigh against me, when I com-
“ plain of the snares which I have discovered to have
“ been laid for my life, but against him who laid
“ them; neither would you shew so little concern for
“ my life, as not to be moved by the dangers I have
“ escaped, or those I have still to dread, if they who
“ have plotted against it escape with impunity. If
“ I must then die without uttering my complaints,
“ let me be mute. I shall only pray the gods, that
“ the wicked purposes which have been first attempt-
“ ed against me may terminate with my life, and
“ that you be not the person to be wounded through
“ my side. But if, as natural instinct prompts even
“ those who are set upon in deserts, to implore the
“ aid of men whom they never saw, it may also be
“ allowed me to call out when a drawn sword is over
“ my head; let me conjure you by the name of fa-
“ ther, (and you have long been sensible which of
“ us have revered that sacred title most), to give such
“ ear to me, as if, awaked by my lamentable cries
“ last night, you had come to my rescue; as if you
“ had caught Demetrius in my court-yard with arm-
“ ed ruffians at unseasonable hours. For the same
“ things I would have exclaimed against during my
“ fright at that time, I now complain of the day af-
“ ter. Ah, brother, we have long lived in such a
“ manner, that it is not very likely we would feast
“ together. The truth is, you aspire at the crown.
“ My seniority, the law of nations, the custom of
“ our country, nay our father’s equity, are obstacles
“ in your way. You cannot mount the throne with-
“ out shedding my blood. You leave no attempt
“ untried, you use your utmost efforts to effect my
“ death. But hitherto either my vigilance, or the

“ kindnes of fortune, hath disappointed your unnatural aims. Yesterday you had very near turned “ the review, the exercising of the troops, and the “ mock-fight, into a bloody battle; and nothing saved my life, but suffering myself and party to be “ vanquished. From this hostile action, as if it had “ only been for diversion between two brothers, you “ would have decoyed me to an entertainment. Do “ you believe, most royal father, that I should have “ supped with unarmed guests, who came in arms to “ make merry with me? or that I had nothing to apprehend in the night from the swords of those, who, “ even before your eyes, attempted to kill me with “ headles pikes in the day? Why, brother, did “ you come at so unseasonable an hour in the night, “ why as an enemy, considering I was enraged; why “ attended by young men with swords? Since I “ durst not trust myself to be your guest, could you “ expect I would admit you to be mine, when you “ came with an armed train? Most noble king, had “ my gates been open, you would now have been “ preparing his funeral, whom you hear uttering these “ complaints. My accusations are not false, nor am “ I at a loss for proofs to confirm them. For why, “ doth he deny that he came to my gate with a great “ train, or that those he had with him had not “ swords? Pray send for the persons I shall name. “ Indeed men capable of such audacious attempts “ dare do any thing; yet they dare not deny this. “ Had I seized them in my court-yard, and brought “ them directly to you, you would have believed “ me; now let their own confession gain equal credit with you, as if they had been apprehended in “ the action.

CHAP. X. “ Now curse the lust of sovereignty, “ and excite the furies of two brothers against each other; but let not your execrations be blind: make “ a difference and distinction between him who lays “ the snares, and him for whom they are laid; let the “ former-

“ former meet the just merit of his villany, but let the
“ innocence of the latter free him from punishment.
“ Let him who treacherously sought to assassinate his
“ brother, feel the vengeance of his father’s gods ;
“ but let him whose life was aimed at, meet security
“ in a father’s compassion and justice. Whither else
“ can I fly for refuge, since I am not safe at solemn
“ sacrifices, at the review of our troops, in my own
“ house, at an entertainment, or in the night, which
“ kind nature has allotted for the secure repose of
“ mortals ? If I accept of my brother’s invitations, I
“ meet certain death ; if I admit him to feast with
“ me, I cannot escape the same fate. I cannot avoid
“ his snares if I either go or stay. To whom then
“ can I have recourse ? Dear father, I have relied
“ solely on the gods and you. I cannot fly to the
“ Romans for refuge. They wish my death, because
“ I lament the injuries you have suffered ; because I
“ am enraged to see you stript of so many cities and
“ countries, and lately of the sea-coast of Thrace ;
“ nay, because they have no hopes of getting Mace-
“ donia to themselves, while you and I are alive. If
“ I was once removed by my brother’s treacherous
“ practices, and you by old age, nay is it certain,
“ they will wait these periods ? they know that Ma-
“ cedonia and its king will depend upon their nod.
“ Had the Romans left you any place without Ma-
“ cedonia, I should have expected a safe retreat there.
“ But you will say, I am sufficiently safe in Macedo-
“ nia. How ! you saw the soldiers assault me yesterday.
“ Did they want any thing except swords ? But what
“ they had not in the day, my brother’s guests pro-
“ vided in the night. Need I observe that the great-
“ est number of the lords of your kingdom have
“ placed all their hopes of dignities and preferment
“ on the Romans, and on him, to whom they deny
“ nothing. And, truly, they not only prefer him,
“ to me, his older brother, but even to you, who
“ are his sovereign and father. From a regard, for-

" sooth, to this son, the senate remitted the penalty
" you had incurred, he at this time protects you from
" the Roman arms, and thinks it reasonable that you
" in your old age should be solely obliged to and
" depend upon him, a youth, for your safety. With
" him the Romans, all the cities freed from your sub-
" jection, all the Macedonians, who delight in peace
" with the Romans, take part. Illustrious father,
" I have no hope, no refuge, but in you.

CHAP. XI. " What do you think was the design
" of the letters lately sent you by Flaminius, wherein
" he says, you could not have acted a wiser part than
" in sending Demetrius to Rome, and begs you would
" send him back at the head of a more numerous
" reputation, and with the principal lord's of Mace-
" donia? The truth is, Flaminius is my brother's
" counsellor and director in all the steps he takes.
" Demetrius has thrown off all duty to you, and
" adopted this Roman to be his father. All his
" wicked designs were formerly hatched at Rome.
" When Flaminius desires you to send with him a
" more numerous embassy consisting of your princi-
" pal subjects, his sole view is thereby to procure
" abettors of his wicked designs. For though they
" set out from hence with firm and loyal hearts,
" looking on Philip as their lawful sovereign, yet
" they will return from Rome tainted with the in-
" chantments of that cursed state. Nothing will go
" down with them but Demetrius. Though you are
" alive, they already style him king. If I shew my
" displeasure at these things, my ears must imme-
" diately be dinned with accusations, not only from
" others, but even from my father, of my ambitiously
" aiming at your crown. But for my own part, was
" the diadem placed betwixt us, I would not take it.
" For whom must I supplant, in order to wear it in
" his stead? My father alone stands betwixt me and
" it, and I pray the gods, he may live long to en-
" joy it. If I survive him, (and even that I desire
" not

“ not to do, except I deserve that he should wish it), “ and he leaves me heir of his throne, I will accept it. My brother indeed aspires to a throne, and wickedly too, since he would mount to it contrary to the right of seniority, the course of nature, customs of Macedonia, and law of nations. He sees an elder brother, to whom, of right and by a father’s will, the crown will devolve, stand in his way. Let us then, says he, get rid of him: I shall not be the first who has got a crown by fratricide. As for my father, he is old, and when destitute and bereaved of his son, will be more afraid of himself, than to revenge his death. The Romans will rejoice at, approve, and defend the action. These, illustrious sovereign, are uncertain, but not vain hopes. To conclude, you may secure my life against all attempts, by punishing those who have armed themselves in order to take it away: but if they once succeed in their wicked enterprise, you will not have it in your power to avenge my death.”

CHAP. XII. When Perseus had done, all the company fixed their eyes on Demetrius, expecting he would answer immediately. But there was a profound silence for some time. They all plainly saw that his tears deprived him of the use of speech. But at length being commanded to justify himself, his grief gave way to necessity, and he thus began: “ Royal father, my accuser has prevented me in every circumstance that uses to aid the cause of a defendant. His false tears, feigned for my destruction, have rendered my real ones suspected by you. While it is certain, that, ever since my return from Rome, he and his accomplices have secretly, both night and day, complotted my death; he would not only make me appear to be a liar in wait, but a public robber and assassin. He terrifies you with the representation of his own danger, in order to make you the instrument of hastening the death of

“ his innocent brother. To deprive me of all future
“ hope in you, he pretends he has no place of refuge
“ in the whole universe. Thus circumvented, forlorn,
“ and destitute, he invidiously calumniates me with
“ the favour and protection of foreigners, a circum-
“ stance that does me more injury than good. How,
“ like an artful barrister, does he confound what hap-
“ pened during the preceding night, with his wicked
“ insinuations against the tenor of the former part of
“ my life? His view was to enhance your suspicions
“ of that fact, the naked truth whereof you shall
“ presently know, by my former miscarriages, and
“ confirm his false accusations of my entertaining un-
“ natural hopes, and hatching villainous designs, by
“ a forged, preconcerted fable of my intending to
“ murder him last night. A farther design he had
“ in this was, to make it believed that his accusation
“ of me was sudden and unpremeditated, and solely
“ owing to the alarming his fears yesternight. But,
“ Perse, if I had been guilty of treason against my
“ father and his crown, if I had conspired with the
“ Romans, or any other of my father's enemies,
“ you ought not to have waited for last night's story,
“ but accused me of it before; if that accusation were
“ to be separated from the other vain and frivolous
“ one, which will rather shew your malice towards
“ me than my guilt, it ought either not to have been
“ mentioned to-day, or deferred to a more proper op-
“ portunity, that it might have been evident, whe-
“ ther, by a new and singular kind of hatred, I have
“ laid snares for you, or you for me. However, I
“ shall, as well as I can in the confusion occasioned
“ by your unexpected accusation, separate what you
“ have blended together, and shew whether the snares
“ were laid last night by you or me. Perse would
“ have it thought, that I had formed a design against
“ his life, in order, that, by ridding myself of my
“ elder brother, who by the law of nations, custom
“ of the Macedonians, and even, royal father, by
“ your

“ your destination, is to enjoy your crown after you,
“ I, his junior, might succeed to him when I should
“ have murdered him. But how ! what then can be
“ the drift of the other part of his speech, where he
“ says, I have so great a regard for the Romans, and
“ have such a dependence on them, that I hoped by
“ their means to mount the throne ? For if I had so
“ great an idea of the Roman power, as to imagine
“ they could give Macedonia what king they pleased,
“ and if I relied so much on their favour, what need
“ I be guilty of fratricide ? Because I wanted the plea-
“ sure, perhaps, of wearing a crown stained with a
“ brother’s blood ? Or is it, that I might render
“ myself execrable and odious to those very people,
“ with whom, by either a real or at least a pretended
“ probity, I have acquired favour, if indeed I have
“ gained any ? No ; unless you believe that Flami-
“ nius, by whose virtuous advices you just now ac-
“ cused me of being governed, and who shews so
“ tender an affection for his own brother, would ad-
“ vise and persuade me to murder mine. My ac-
“ cuser accumulates against me, not only the credit
“ I have with the Romans, but the favourable opi-
“ nion the Macedonians have of me, nay the appro-
“ bation of both gods and men, in all which he be-
“ lieves I would have the advantage of him in a fu-
“ ture contest for the crown ; and yet, as if I was
“ inferior to him in all other respects, he pretends I
“ had recourse to villany, as my last resource. Will
“ you join issue with me in this point, that he who
“ was afraid the other would be reckoned more de-
“ serving of the crown, shall be deemed the one who
“ plotted the other’s death ?

CHAP. XIII. “ But suffer me, some how or other
“ to give you a regular detail of this forged accusa-
“ tion. He accuses me of various practices to take
“ away his life, and yet he hath confined them all
“ within the space of one day. He says, I intended
“ to have killed him in day-light at the mock-fight,
“ after

“ after the review, nay, may the gods deliver me !
“ on the very day of a solemn expiation ; to have
“ poisoned him at the supper to which I invited
“ him, and lastly, that, under pretext of a party of
“ pleasure, I carried armed men to murder him at
“ his own house. You must all be sensible, whe-
“ ther a diversion, entertainment, and party of plea-
“ sure, could be chosen as seasonable opportunities
“ for murdering a brother. What kind of a day
“ was it ? Truly, the day on which the army was
“ reviewed, when you, supported only by us two,
“ with all the armour of our kings from their first
“ original carried before you, and followed by all
“ your subjects, passed between the two halves of a
“ victim. Being purified and expiated by this sa-
“ crifice, (if indeed any of my former actions deser-
“ ved expiation), nay, at the very time that I be-
“ held the parts of the victim on each hand of me as
“ I marched, I was revolving in my mind fratri-
“ cide, poisonings, and swords, prepared against my
“ going to feast with my brother. And with what
“ other sacrifices could I have afterwards expiated
“ this hainous guilt of my mind ? But a mind blind-
“ ed with the passion of calumniating, confounds
“ one thing with another, while it endeavours to
“ render every thing suspicious. For if I had thoughts
“ of poisoning you at supper, what could be more
“ foolish than to exasperate you, by an obstinate re-
“ sistance in the renounter, to such a degree, as
“ give you just ground to refuse my invitation, as
“ you did ? After you had in your rage denied to
“ sup with me, was it not more probable that I
“ should have used my endeavours to have pacified
“ you, and thereby find another opportunity, since
“ I had once prepared the poison, than that I should
“ have leaped from one project to another, and, un-
“ der pretext of making merry together, assasinated
“ you on the very same day ? Besides, if I was con-
“ vinced that you refused my invitation to supper
“ for

" for fear of your life, how could I expect, that the
" same apprehensions would not make you avoid me
" when I came to revel with you ?

CHAP. XIV. " Need I be ashamed, royal father,
" of having indulged too liberally in wine with my
" companions on so great a festival ? Nay, I wish
" you would inquire with what jovial diversion I
" celebrated yesterday's entertainment, though it
" may be we carried our mirth somewhat too far for
" the slight victory our side gained in the encoun-
" ter of the youth. But this calamitous alarm has
" dispelled the fumes of our debauch, which, if it
" had not happened, we, for as great liars in wait as
" we are, would have still been fast asleep in our
" beds. Consider, brother, if I had had a design
" to storm your house, and, after succeeding in that,
" to have murdered you, do you think I would not
" have kept sober for one day ? Or at least would I
" have suffered the instruments who were to execute
" my schemes, to have got drunk ? But that I might
" not alone defend myself by circumstances, carry-
" ing a strong appearance of honest intentions, this
" malicious and jealous brother says he knows no
" more, except that those who came to make merry
" with him had arms. But, Perses, should I ask
" you, by what means you came to know this,-
" you must necessarily own, either that my house
" was full of your spies, or that my accomplices
" took arms in such an open manner that all the
" world saw them. And, O judges, in order to
" have it believed, that he had not before inquired
" into it, or even now would accuse me without
" foundation, he desires you would ask those whom
" he has named, whether they had swords ; in or-
" der, that, after you have inquired into this as a
" doubtful matter, and found they owned it, you
" should look on them as sufficiently convicted. But,
" brother, did you desire, that they should be asked,
" whether they brought these arms with a design to
" murder

"murder you? whether they did so with my privity
"and by my direction? This is what you would
"have believed, not what they confess, and it is
"known to all, that they took arms in order to de-
"fend themselves. After all, whether they have
"done well or ill, they alone are responsible for
"their own actions. Mine, which have no relation
"to them, ought not to be blended with them.
"Therefore shew distinctly, whether we attacked
"you openly or secretly. If we did it openly, why
"had we not all swords? Why were none of us
"armed, except those who drubbed your spy? If
"our design was to murder you treacherously, sure
"it was very ill concerted. After the company was
"dismissed, after I, who was your guest, was reti-
"red, were these four to stay behind, to assassinate
"you when asleep? But how could they have con-
"cealed themselves, as they were strangers, my at-
"tendants, and above all suspected on account of
"the late quarrel betwixt them and your spy? Or,
"how could they have escaped after they had mur-
"dered you? Is it possible to take and keep your
"palace with four men armed only with swords?

CHAP. XV. "For shame, brother, talk no more
"of this forged nocturnal plot, but return to the
"real cause of your grief, and of that malice which
"burns in your breast. How comes it to pass, De-
"metrius, you would say, that people dare name you
"for the throne? Why do some think you more
"worthy than me to succeed your father? Why
"do you disturb and render doubtful those my
"hopes, which, but for you, would be certain?
"These, Perses, are your secret sentiments, though
"you do not say so: these make you my enemy,
"these induced you to accuse me, these fill the
"court and kingdom with calumnies and jealou-
"ties. But, royal father, whereas I neither hope
"for the crown now, nor ever ought to attempt
"it at any time afterwards, since I am the young-
"est,

“ est, and it is your pleasure I should yield to my
“ senior; so neither did it become me heretofore,
“ nor does it now become me, to do a thing, which
“ would render me odious to you and all men. By
“ treacherously refusing to yield to him, who has
“ right and justice on his side, I can only render
“ myself unworthy of all favour, but the contrary
“ by a modest behaviour. You reproach me with
“ my credit with the Romans, and make a crime of
“ what ought to be my greatest glory. I neither
“ asked to be delivered up as an hostage, or to be
“ sent ambassador to Rome. But when you sent me,
“ I did not refuse. At both times I behaved in such
“ a manner as not to be a disgrace to you, your
“ kingdom, or the nation of Macedonia. Thus,
“ illustrious king, it is to you I am indebted for the
“ good-will of the Romans, and I shall ever regard
“ them as long as they maintain peace with you.
“ But as soon as hostilities shall commence, I who
“ was not an useless hostage and ambassador for my
“ father, shall be a bitter and declared enemy to them.
“ I do not now plead the favour of the Romans as a
“ merit; all I ask is, that it may not prejudice my
“ cause. My credit with them did not commence
“ in time of war, neither will continue, if the war is
“ renewed. I was sent as a sure pledge of peace;
“ and as ambassador to maintain it. Let neither
“ then diminish my glory, or afford matter of calum-
“ ny against me. If I have been guilty of any crime,
“ either against my father or brother, I ask no fa-
“ vor. But if I am innocent, let me not suffer by
“ odious suspicions, since no just crime can be ob-
“ jected to me. This is not the first time my bro-
“ ther has accused me, though it is the first day on
“ which he has ever done it avowedly; and in truth,
“ I ill deserve it at his hands. If my father had
“ been angry with me, you, as an elder brother,
“ ought to have been an advocate for your younger,
“ and obtained pardon for the errors of my youth.

“ What,

“ What, have I met destruction where I expect-
“ ed certain refuge ! I am dragged half asleep
“ from an entertainment, from a merry-making, to
“ justify myself from fratricide. I am forced in
“ person to plead my cause without advocates or
“ patrons. If I had been to plead for another per-
“ son, I should have taken time to prepare my speech,
“ though then I should have run no hazard but that
“ of being thought a bad orator. But now I was
“ sent for without the least knowledge of the busi-
“ ness, and first heard my father in a passion order
“ us to plead our cause, and then my brother ac-
“ cuse me. The last has uttered a studied declama-
“ tion against me, while I had no more time allow-
“ ed me to prepare my defence, than when I was
“ hearing my accusation. Being thus surprised in
“ an instant, was it possible I could hear my accu-
“ ser attentively, or prepare a defence ? Confound-
“ ed with this sudden and unexpected stroke, I could
“ scarce understand what was objected to me, much
“ less think of what to say in my own justification.
“ What had I to rely on but having my father so
“ a judge, from whom, though he has a greater af-
“ fection for my elder brother, I ought at least to
“ meet with more pity, as I am innocently accused
“ I conjure you, father, to save me, both for your ow-
“ and my sake, while he insists, that you should pu-
“ me to death, solely for his security. What do
“ you think he will do when you have yielded th
“ sceptre to him, when he now thinks that my life
“ depends on his pleasure ? ”

CHAP. XVI. At these last words such a flood of tears burst from him, that they stopt both his speech and breath. Philip made his sons withdraw, and, after conferring with the two lords his assessors, declared, “ that he would not determine upon the evidence they had given, or upon one hour’s debate ; but by inquiring into the tenor of both their lives, and by observing their manners, speech-
“ es.

"es, and actions, in trivial matters, as well as those
 "of great importance." By this it was manifest the
 king was satisfied of Demetrius's innocence as to
 the plot of the preceding night, and the only thing he
 was suspected in was his attachment to the Romans.
 These were the seeds of the Macedonian war, which
 were sown in Philip's lifetime, but produced no
 fruit till the reign of Perseus. Both the consuls set
 out for Liguria, the province allotted to them. Here
 they met with such success, that a supplication was
 decreed for one day. About 2000 Ligurians came
 into the confines of Gaul *, to Marcellus's camp,
 conjuring him to accept of their submission. He
 wrote to the senate for their advice, ordering the
 Ligurians to wait the return of his courier. The
 Fathers ordered the prætor Oculnius to write back
 to him, "That it more properly belonged to the
 "consuls of that province, than to them to deter-
 "mine what was for the interest of the common-
 "wealth in that affair. For their own parts, they
 "did not think fit to accept of the submission of
 "the Ligurians at that time, and that whenever they
 "should, they should be disarmed. Besides, it was
 "their pleasure, they should be sent to the consuls."
 About the same time the prætors arrived in their
 provinces : P. Manlius in further Spain, of which
 he had been governor during his former prætorship,
 and Q. Flaccus in the hither province, where he
 received the army from Terentius. As P. Sempronius,
 proprætor of the further, had died, the new
 prætor found it without a governor. As Flaccus
 was besieging Urbicum †, he was attacked by the
 Celtiberians. They fought many obstinate battles,
 in which the Romans had many killed and wounded.
 However the prætor prosecuted his enterprise
 with so great steadiness, that it was not possible by
 force to make him raise the siege. The Celtiberians,
 fatigued with so many battles, retired. Within a

* On this side the Po.

† Now Arbeca in Aragon.

few days after their departure, the city was taken and rifled ; the plunder was abandoned to the troops. When this city was taken, he retired into his winter-quarters, as did Manlius, without having done any thing, except drawing together his troops, which had been before dispersed. Neither of them performed any thing else that was memorable. These were the transactions in Spain during this campaign. Terentius, who had quitted that province, had the honour of an ovation. In the procession was carried before him 9320 pound weight of silver, 80 of gold, and two gold crowns weighing sixty-seven pound.

CHAP. XVII. During this year the Romans were arbiters between Masinissa and the Carthaginians about a certain district, Gala, Masinissa's father, had taken it from the Carthaginians, and Syphax had driven out Gala, and afterwards restored it to the Carthaginians, in regard to his father-in-law Asdrubal. The debate about it before the Romans was managed with as much heat, as when they formerly disputed for it sword in hand. The Carthaginians reclaimed it, as having originally belonged to their ancestors, and afterwards restored to them by Syphax. Masinissa insisted, that he had only retaken a district which had been part of his father's kingdom, and which belonged to him by right of conquest : that, besides the goodness of his cause, he had a stronger title, possession. He feared nothing could injure him in the controversy but the modesty of the Romans, who might scruple to give an award in his favour, who was their friend and ally, against the common enemy of them both, lest they should be accused of partiality. The deputies, without proceeding to a sentence, referred the matter entire to the senate. The Ligurians performed nothing memorable after this. They first retired into un frequented forests, and then disbanding slipped away each to their own villages and forts. The consuls also had an inclination to disband their troops, and wrote

e for the senate's advice upon it. The Fathers ed one of them to dismiss his army, and repair some to preside at the elections, and the other inter at Pisa with his troops. It had been red that the Transalpine Gauls were arming their i, but it was not known on what part of Italy orrent would burst. In consequence the con- greed between themselves, that Bæbius should preside at the elections because his brother us was a candidate.

IAP. XVIII. The fasces were transferred to P. elius Cethegus and M. Bæbius Tamphilus. the two Fabii, Maximus and Buteo, C. Clau- Nero, Q. Petilius Spurinus, M. Pinarius Posca, Duronius, were chosen prætors. The provin- vere determined by lot in the following manner. two consuls had Liguria ; Spurinus, the jurisdic- of citizens ; Maximus, that of foreigners ; Bu- Gaul ; Nero, Sicily ; Posca, Sardinia ; and Du- s, Apulia, to which was added Istria, because Parentines and Brundisians sent intelligence, their coasts were infested by foreign pirates. people of Marseilles made the same complaints Ligurian ships. Then the armies were ed. The consuls had four legions, each con- of 5000 Roman foot and 300 horse, with 10 foot and 800 cavalry belonging to the Latins- llies. The preceding prætors were continued command of Spain, with the armies they had ; to recruit them they were ordered 3000 Roman and 200 horse, with 6000 infantry and 300 of the allies. Nor were marine affairs eted. The consuls were ordered to appoint virs, who were to equip twenty ships, and them with enfranchised Roman citizens, only officers were to be free-born persons. The admirals had ten ships apiece, and agreed that cape of Minerva * should be the boundary of ampanella.

their stations, and the one should cruise to the right as far as Marseilles, and the other to the left as far as Barium *.

CHAP. XIX. This year many strange prodigies were seen at Rome, and reported from foreign parts. In the area of the temple of Vulcan and Concord it rained blood, and the priests reported that the shields moved of themselves. At Lanuvium the statue of Juno Sospita wept. The pestilence was so great in the villages, market-towns, and even Rome itself, that there were scarce people enough to bury the dead. The Fathers were so uneasy at these prodigies and calamities, that they ordered the consuls to offer the larger sacrifices to what gods they pleased, and the decemvirs to consult the Sybilline books. By the direction of the latter, a solemn procession for one day was made to all the shrines in Rome. By a representation from them likewise, the Fathers passed a decree, and the consuls issued an edict, that three days should be observed in solemn supplications, and free from all labour, over all Italy. The plague raged so violently, that when, upon the revolt of the Corsicans, and the insurrection of the Ilians † in Sardinia, it was decreed that 8000 Latin foot and 300 horse should be raised to be carried to Sardinia by the prætor Posca, the mortality had been so great, and such vast numbers were sick, that the consuls declared they could not get men enough to complete those levies. For this reason he was ordered to take his quota out of the army which the proconsul Bæbius had in winter-quarters at Pisa, and from thence to sail for Sardinia. Duronius, who had got Apulia, was ordered to proceed in the inquiry after the Bacchanals, the seeds of whose former enormities had begun to appear again the preceding year. The former prætor Pupius had thereupon set the inquiry af-

* Now Terra di Bari, in the kingdom of Naples.

† Originally descended from the Trojans. Their capital on the west of the island, now called *Llera*.

ter them on foot again, but had not brought it to an issue; so that the Fathers ordered the new prætor to grub it up by the roots, to prevent its spreading farther. The consuls also, by authority of the senate, proposed several laws to the people for their sanction to restrain illegal practices in canvassing for offices.

CHAP. XX. Then the foreign ambassadors had audience of the senate. The first were those of Eu-menes, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, and Pharnaces king of Pontus. All the answer they received was, that the Fathers would send commissioners to take cognisance of and accommodate their differences. Next were called the deputies of the Spartan exiles and of the Achæans. The former were made to hope, that letters would be sent to the senate of Achæa, to order their being reinstated in their country. The Achæans gave a detail of their recovery of Messene, and settling affairs there, which the Fathers approved. Two ambassadors, Philocles and Apelles, also arrived from Philip. They had nothing to demand of the senate, but were rather sent as spies to discover what Perse had accused Demetrius of, namely, of certain conversations he had had with the Romans, in particular, with Flamininus, about depriving his brother of the crown. Philip had sent them because he thought them indifferent persons, and attached to neither of his sons. However they were Perse's accomplices and instruments in all his treacherous practices against his brother. Demetrius, who was ignorant of all, except his brother's malice which had lately discovered itself, neither entertained great hopes, nor absolutely despaired, of mollifying his father. But he had daily less dependence on his father's affection, when he saw the king heard only with his brother's ears. He therefore used the greatest caution both in his actions and conversation, that he might give no occasion of complaint, but in a particular manner all mention of, or

commerce with the Romans; insomuch that he desired them not to write any letters to him, knowing that an accusation of that kind would more particularly irritate his father against him.

CHAP. XXI. Philip, to prevent his troops from being exereted by inactivity, and remove all suspicion of his meditating a war with Rome, ordered his army to rendezvous at Stobi in Pæonia, and from thence proceeded to Mædica in Thrace. He had a great desire to go to the top of mount Hæmus, from his crediting a popular tradition, that from thence one might see the Black sea, the Danube, the Adriatic gulf, and the Alps. He flattered himself, that this prospect with the naked eye would be of great service to him in forming the plan of the war. He inquired of persons acquainted with the country about the way that led up to the top of the mount. But as all agreed that it was impracticable for an army to march up it, and even a small company lightly appointed would find it very difficult, in order to footh his younger son, whom he resolved not to take with him, he first asked him with an air of familiarity and affection, whether, "since the way was represented to be so difficult, he would advise him to proceed or quit his enterprise? But," says he, "if I should march on, I cannot forget what happened to Antiochus in a like case. Being overtaken at sea by a violent storm, with all his family in the same ship, he is said to have ordered his children constantly to remember and warn their posterity, never to venture themselves with their whole family at the same time in dangerous enterprises. For my own part, that precept has made so great an impression on me, that I will not risk both my sons in the hazardous expedition that is now proposed. And since I incline to take the least with me, I must send you back, to secure my hopes of posterity, and guard my dominions." Demetrius clearly perceived he was industriously sent away,

away, that he might not be present at their councils, when, from a prospect of the country, they were to deliberate on the nearest way to sail to the Adriatic gulf and Italy, and on the plan of the impending war. But he saw it was best for him in his present circumstances, not only to obey, but approve his father's precaution, for fear of increasing his suspicions by seeming unwilling to comply. Under pretext of protecting his person on his route back to Macedonia, Didas, governor of Pœonia, was ordered to attend him with a small escort. This governor was one of the conspirators against Demetrius's life, and had been retained by Perse, among a great number of Philip's courtiers, who had entered themselves in that list ever since they saw clearly the bent of the king's inclination, and whom he had destined to succeed to his crown. At present he instructed this minister by an obsequious behaviour to insinuate himself into the prince's confidence, in order to draw from him all his secrets, and discover his private sentiments. Thus Demetrius set out with an escort more dangerous than if he had travelled alone.

CHAP. XXII. Philip first crossed Mædica, and then the deserts lying between it and Hæmus, and in seven days arrived at the foot of the mount. There he staid one day in order to chuse proper guards to accompany him to the top, and on the third day he set out. He found no great fatigue in ascending the lowermost hills. But the higher he advanced, he met with impenetrable coppices, which man had never trod. At length they came to a place entirely covered with thick trees, whose branches were so closely intermixed, that the light could scarce penetrate through them. When they approached the top, they found all so covered with a thick fog, which seldom happens on other mountains, that their journey was as much retarded as if it had been dark night. However, on the third day they reached the top.

top. When they came down, they confirmed the common report. This I believe they did to prevent being ridiculed for so foolish a journey, rather than that it was possible that they could from a single spot have a prospect of seas, mountains, and rivers, so far distant from each other. All the company, but especially the king, who was advanced in years, were much fatigued with this difficult journey. They erected two altars on the top, and sacrificed to Jupiter and the sun, and then came down in two days, whereas they had been three in going up. What the king was most afraid of was the cold nights, which, though it was then the dog-days, were as cold in that place as if it had been the middle of winter. After having struggled with these difficulties for five days, he found no matter of joy in his camp, where the troops began to want provisions in a country surrounded with deserts. Therefore he tarried only one day to refresh the guard he had had with him, and then marched as precipitately as if he had been flying into the country of the Denteletæ, who were in alliance with him. But the Macedonians were in so great scarcity, that they pillaged their lands as much as if they had belonged to professed enemies. For first they rifled their farms, and then several villages, to the great disgrace of the king, who heard his allies in vain invoking the protection of the gods, guardians of alliances, and even his own help. Having carried off the corn, he returned to Mædica, and besieged Petra. He himself incamped in a plain before the city, and detached Perseus with an inconsiderable body to invest it on the eminences on the other side. The inhabitants seeing themselves closely beset on all sides, gave hostages, and surrendered for the present. But as soon as the king's army was gone, they forgot the pledges of their fidelity, abandoned their city, and fled to their castles and mountains. Philip, after having harassed his troops with all manner of fatigue, and had

had his jealousy of his son Demetrius increased by the treacherous practices of Didas, returned to Macedonia.

C H A P . XXIII. Didas (as has been observed already) being sent to accompany Demetrius, abused the simplicity of this uncautious prince, who had good reason to be discontented with his own relations, by fooling him, pretending to be enraged at the hard usage he met with, and voluntarily offering him his assistance, after swearing fidelity, he drew from him the secret of his designing to fly to the Romans. He imagined the gods had propitiously sent, to assist them in this project, this governor of Pœonia, through whose province he hoped to find a safe escape. But the traitor immediately revealed the design to Perse, and through him to the king. The first information he gave was by letters, which he sent to the camp before Petra. Afterwards Herodotus, Demetrius's principal friend, was arrested, and guards ordered to watch Demetrius himself under pretext of doing him honour. These, more than any other incident, gave the king great uneasiness on his arrival in Macedonia. The accusations made a deep impression upon him for the time, but he thought it his wisest course to wait the return of the ambassadors he had sent to Rome as spies. After having passed several months in this distracting state of mind, the ambassadors returned with answers which had been concerted before they had set out from Macedonia. Besides the other treacherous devices, they delivered the king a forged letter, under a counterfeit seal, from Flamininus. The letter was a kind of apology for that Roman's conduct to the following effect. "Though a desire of a crown, peculiar to young men, have carried you so far, as to communicate your designs to me, yet I will do nothing prejudicial to your relations. It is contrary to my nature, to countenance so villainous a project." This letter made the king give entire

entire credit to Perse's accusations. In consequence Herodotus was immediately put to the rack, and after having long endured the most exquisite torments, expired without making any discovery.

CHAP. XXIV. Perse accused Demetrius before his father a second time, of having intended to make his escape through Pæonia. Several persons appeared to testify, that he had engaged them by bribes to accompany him. But what was principally urged against him, were the forged letters under the name of Flamininus. However, they pronounced no sentence openly against him, but chose rather to put him to death privately; not with a view to save his reputation, but for fear lest a public execution should discover the designs against Rome. Philip himself went from Thessalonica to Demetrias, sent his youngest son, accompanied by Didas, to Æstræum in Pæonia, and Perse to Amphipolis, to receive the Thracian hostages. At parting, it is said, he gave Didas instructions to put his son to death. Didas either instituted a sacrifice on purpose, or pretended it was on another account. He invited Demetrius to the festival, who accordingly came from Æstræum to assist at the celebration of it at Heraclea. At supper, the traitor gave a poisonous draught to the young prince, who as soon as he had drank it was sensible of it. His agonies soon began, and he left the table, retiring to his apartment, where, in great torture, he complained of his father's cruelty, his brother's parricide, and the treachery of Didas. Then two assassins, Thyrsis of Stymbara *, and Alexander of Beræa †, entered his chamber, wrapped his head in a cloth, and stopping his mouth and nose suffocated him. Thus died an innocent young prince by a kind of double death, his enemies not contenting themselves with the single one by poison.

CHAP. XXV. During these transactions in Ma-

* A city of the Duriopes.

† In Echænia.

cedonia,

cedonia, L. *Æ*Emilius Paullus, who, after his consulate, had been continued in the command of Liguria, marched early in the spring into the country of the Ingauni. He no sooner incamped upon their lands, than they sent a deputation to him, under pretext of asking peace, but in reality to view his camp. Paullus having flatly refused all accommodation till they had surrendered, they told him they must have time granted, to induce their barbarous people to comply. In consequence they obtained a truce for ten days; to which they asked, that he would not send his troops to fetch wood and forage from beyond the neighbouring mountains, because that was the only cultivated part of their country. As soon as they obtained this, they drew together all their forces behind those very hills, from which they had removed the enemy, and came with an infinite multitude, and attacked all the gates of the Roman camp at once. They continued this attack all day with so much vigour, that they left the Romans neither the means for quitting their lines, or ground sufficient for drawing up. However, they crowded about the gates, and stopped the enemy more by barricading them with their bodies, than by fighting. After sunset, when the enemy were retired, Paullus sent two troopers with letters to the proconsul Cn. Bæbius at Pisa, desiring him to come directly and extricate him out of a danger into which he had been treacherously drawn under pretext of a truce. Bæbius had delivered up his troops to the prætor Posca to be carried to Sardinia. However, he wrote to the senate to inform them of Paullus's danger, and to Marcellus, governor of the province nearest him, desiring, if he thought proper, to march from Gaul into Liguria to the relief of Paullus. But that relief would have come too late. For next day the Ligurians returned to the charge. Paullus, though he knew they would return, and might have quitted his lines, kept his troops within the camp, in order to gain

gain time, till Bæbius's army should arrive from Pisa to his relief.

CHAP. XXVI. Bæbius's letters occasioned great consternation at Rome, and the more as Marcellus, who had left Fabius at the head of his army, having a few days after arrived at Rome, assured them that the troops in Gaul could not go to Liguria, by reason of a war with the Istrians, who endeavoured to stop the settling a colony at Aquileia: that Fabius having entered their country, and commenced hostilities, could not now retire. The only hope then they had of relieving Paullus, and even that seemed slow, was to make the consuls hasten into their provinces. Each of the Fathers loudly called upon them to depart. The consuls answered, they could not go till they had completed their levies, the slowness of which was not owing to their inactivity, but to the violence of the plague. However, the senators were so unanimous and steady in their request, that the consuls could no longer refuse to set out, and order what troops they had to rendezvous at Pisa. They had commission to levy troops on their route, and carry them with them. The prætor Spurinus was ordered with all expedition to levy two legions of Roman citizens, and administer the military oath to all under fifty years of age; as Maximus was to procure 15,000 foot and 800 horse from the Latins. They also fitted out a fleet, and appointed C. Matienus and C. Lucretius to command it. The former, whose station was the gulf of Gaul, was ordered to sail directly to the coast of Liguria, to make all the diversion he could in favour of Paullus and his army.

CHAP. XXVII. Paullus, seeing no relief appear, and believing the two troopers had been intercepted, resolved to try his own fortune. Before the enemy, whose ardour began to abate, came up, he marshalled his troops at the four gates of his camp, to be ready to sally all at once as soon as a signal should be given.

To

the four extraordinary cohorts he added two, under the command of M. Valerius, a lieutengeneral, with orders to sally out at the Prætoriate. At the right gate he posted the hastati of

the legion, with the principes to support them.

corps was commanded by two legionary tri-
, M. Servilius and L. Sulpicius. At the left
under the conduct of Sex. Julius Cæsar and L.
lius Cotta, he drew up the third legion, with the
ipes in the front, and the hastati in the rear.
cav'dry of the right wing were to march out at
uestorian gate under the command of Flaccus a
nt general, and the triarii of the two le-
ordered to stay and guard the camp. The pro-
l flew from gate to gate to harangue the troops,
all possible means to rouse their courage and
ment. " We have to do," said he to some,
th traitors, who having sued for peace, and ob-
tained a truce, have come to attack us, contrary
the law of nations, before it is expired. What a
useful sight is it," to others, " to see a Roman
ny besieged by Ligurians, who act more like
bers than avowed enemies ? Should you escape
t of this danger by the relief of others, and not
your own valour, with what face will any of
u meet, I do not say those brave fellows who
quished Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, the
st powerful monarchs of our age, but even
se who have often chased those very Ligurians
e wild beasts through unfrequented forests,
I cut them to pieces ? Shall a banditti of Ligu-
ns dare to approach and assault a Roman camp,
ich the Spaniards, Gauls, Macedonians, and
thaginians never durst ? Ligurians, I say,
om we could scarce find in their secret holes,
en we formerly beat all the pathless forests for
m ?" To this the troops with a great shout an-
d, " That they were not to blame, since they
I received no signal to sally. Let us hear the
L. VIII. K " found

" sound of the trumpet, and we will make you sensible
" that both Romans and Ligurians are the same as
" ever."

CHAP. XXVIII. The Ligurians had two camps on this side of the mountains, from whence by fun-
rising they marched out in good order the first day.
But now they did not take arms, till they had filled
themselves with meat and wine ; and on quitting
their lines dispersed without keeping their ranks, af-
furing themselves that the Romans would not venture
out of their intrenchments. In this disorderly man-
ner they advanced, when the Romans, sending up a
shout, which was seconded by all who remained in
the camp, soldiers and sutlers, fellied upon them from
all the gates at once. The enemy were as much
terrified at this unexpected attack, as if they had
fallen into an ambush. However they kept up the
appearance of a battle for some time. But they were
soon routed, and great slaughter was made of them in
the flight. The signal was given to the cavalry to
mount, and suffer none of them to escape. At first
they were driven in precipitation to their camp, and
then dislodged from it likewise. Above 15,000 of
them were killed, and 2500 taken prisoners. Three
days after all the Ingaunians submitted, and gave
hostages for their fidelity. Inquiry was made after
all the captains and sailors, who had committed pi-
racies on the sea, and they were all thrown into pris-
on. C. Matienus, the Roman admiral, took thir-
ty-two piratical vessels on the coast of Liguria. L.
Aurelius Cotta and C. Sulpicius Gallus were dispatch-
ed to Rome with letters to inform the senate of what
had happened, and beg liberty for Paullus to quit
the province, bring back and disband his army. The
senate granted the request, and decreed a supplication
to all the shrines for three days. Spurinus was or-
dered to disband the city-legions, and Maximus not
to levy the Latin troops. The former was also or-
dered

dered to write to the consuls, to disband the troops they had raised in haste upon the first alarm.

CHAP. XXIX. This year a colony was settled at Gravisca, a region of Etruria, which had formerly been taken from the Tarquinians. Each planter had five acres of land, and were led thither by C. Calpurnius Piso, P. Claudius Pulcher, and C. Terentius Istra. This year was also remarkable for a great drought and scarcity of corn. It is said, it never rained for six months. This year some workmen digging up the ground in a field belonging to L. Petillius the scribe, found two stone chests eight feet long and four broad, the joinings whereof were covered with lead. According to the Latin and Greek inscriptions on them, in one had been buried the Roman king Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo; and the other contained his books. The owner of the ground, by advice of his friends, opened them. That in which it appeared by the inscription that the king had been buried, was found empty without the least vestige of a human body or any thing else, the whole having been consumed by lying so long under ground. In the other were found two bundles, tied up with pitched strings, each containing seven books, not only entire, but the writing fair and fresh. The seven first, written in Latin, contained the laws of the pontiffs. The other seven in Greek treated of the philosophy which prevailed in Numa's days. Valerius Antias says, they were a collection of the Pythagorean doctrines. But it is probable that Antias, by this fiction, intended to give credit to the common tradition that Numa had been Pythagoras's disciple. Petillius's friends first read the books, and then they were communicated to many, so that they were in a manner made public. The city-prætor Q. Petillius Spurinus, having a strong inclination to peruse them, borrowed them of L. Petillius, who lay under obligations to him, for having procured him his secretary's place when he was questor. In perusing them he observed,

observed, that many things in them tended to destroy religion, and told L. Petilius, " That he resolved to burn them. But before he did it, he would suffer him to have recourse to law, or any other means in his power, to recover them from him, and that without the breach of friendship." The proprietor applied to the tribunes of the people, who referred him to the senate. The prætor offered to swear, that the books ought neither to be read or preserved. The senate resolved, " That the prætor's offering to swear was sufficient, and therefore the books should be burnt as soon as possible in the comitium. And to make up the proprietor's loss, such a sum of money as the prætor and majority of the tribunes should value them at, should be paid him." But Petilius generously refused to accept the money. However the books were burnt before all the people in the comitium, by the persons who killed the victims.

CHAP. XXX. A terrible war broke out this year in bither Spain. The Celtiberians took the field with 35,000 men, a much more numerous army than ever they had had before. Q. Fulvius Flaccus was then prætor of that province. As soon as he heard the Celtiberians were arming, he gathered together all the troops the allies could furnish him with, but was still much inferior to the enemy in number. However early in the spring he entered the country of the Carpetani, and incamped near *Aebura* *, leaving a small garrison in the city. A few days after the Celtiberians posted themselves within two miles of him at the foot of a mountain. As soon as the prætor got intelligence of their arrival, he detached his brother Fulvius with two troops of the allies horse to reconnoitre their camp. He ordered him to go as near their camp as possible, that he might the better discover its extent, but to avoid skirmishing, and retire if he saw the enemy's horse coming out again.

* Near Talavera la Reyna, in Portugal.

him. Fulvius executed his orders exactly. No other motion was made during four days, except these two troops shewing themselves, and then retiring, when the enemy's horse sallied out to attack them. At last the Celtiberians quitted their camp, both horse and foot, and drawing up in order of battle, halted about the middle between the two camps. The ground was all level, and very fit for an action. There stood the Spaniards expecting the enemy. The Romans kept within their lines during four successive days, while the enemy came every day to the same post in order of battle. The Romans did not stir all this time. So that the enemy, seeing no opportunity of fighting, remained quiet too; only keeping an advanced guard of horse, to be ready in case the Romans should make any motion. Both parties went a-foraging behind their camps, without harassing each other.

C H A P. XXXI. The prætor, imagining that, by his not stirring for so many days, the enemy were fully assured he would not attack them first, detached L. Acilius with the cavalry of the left wing and 6000 Spanish auxiliaries, to go round to a hill behind the enemy, from whence he was to fall down upon their camp, as soon as ever he should hear the shout for action. This detachment set out in the night to prevent their being descried. At day-break Flaccus sent C. Scribonius a prefect of the allies up to the enemy's lines with the extraordinary squadrons of the left wing. When the Celtiberians found that this body was more numerous and came nearer than usual, they sent out all their cavalry, and gave the foot the signal to follow. Scribonius, in pursuance of his orders, no sooner heard the neighing of their horses, than he wheeled and retreated to his camp, which made the enemy pursue him with the greater precipitation. Their horse advanced first, and then their foot in order of battle, and confident they would force the Roman lines that day. They were

within 500 paces of them, when Flaccus, thinking he had decoyed them far enough to put it out of their power to relieve their camp, sallied out at three different quarters, with his troops which he had formed within their lines. Then they sent up a loud shout, not only to animate them to battle, but to make the detachment on the mountains hear. I did not tarry, but running down from the hill, agreeable to order, fell upon the enemy's camp, where they found a guard only of 500 men left to defend it. The smallness of their own number, the multitude of the enemy, and the unexpected attack, so terrified them, that they suffered their lines to be taken without striking a stroke. Acilius set fire to the part in particular which was in view of the enemy.

CHAP. XXXII. The rear of the Celtiberians first discovered the flames: but presently the report spread through their whole army, that their camp was left and on fire. This struck them with terror, and greatly animated the Romans, who by this time heard the shouts of their victorious detachment, and saw their enemies tents burning. The Celtiberians continued some time in suspense as to the course they should take; but finding they had no retreat in case of a defeat, and that their whole dependence must be on victory, they renewed the charge with greater resolution. Their centre was vigorously pressed by the fifth legion. But they advanced against the Roman left, where they saw the auxiliaries of their own nation posted, with greater confidence. They were upon the point of breaking them, when the seventh legion advanced to their support. Besides, the garrison that had been left behind at Aebura and Acilius came both up in the very heat of the action. By this means the enemy were for a long time slaughtered in front and rear. Those who survived fled on all quarters. Then the cavalry pursued in two different divisions, and made great havock among them. 23,000 of them were killed, and 4800 taken, with upwards

upwards of 500 horse and ninety-eight colours. This was a complete, but bloody victory. The two Roman legions lost 200, the Latins 700, and the Spanish auxiliaries 2400. Then the prætor led back his victorious troops to their camp. Acilius was ordered to stay in the camp he had taken. Next day, the enemy were stript, and in a full assembly rewards distributed to those who had signalised themselves by a gallant behaviour.

CHAP. XXXIII. Then the wounded were carried into Æbura, and the army marched cross Carpetania to Contrebia*. This city being besieged sent to the Celtiberians for relief; but they did not arrive in time. This was not owing to their hesitating; for they set out, but found the roads impracticable, by continual rains and the overflowing of the rivers. In consequence, the inhabitants despairing of succour, surrendered at discretion. The storm also obliged Flaccus to draw all his army into the town. The Celtiberians, who were on their march and knew nothing of the surrendry, as soon as the rains abated passed the rivers, and arrived at Contrebia. Seeing no camp without the walls, they supposed the enemy had removed farther off or were retired altogether, and marched up to it in great disorder. The Romans sallied out upon them at two gates, and attacking them before they were formed, put them to the rout. But the very thing that hindered them from making resistance and beginning the battle, namely, their advancing in small bodies without order, saved great numbers of them in the flight. For they were so far dispersed over the fields, that the enemy could never surround many of them at a time. However 12,000 of them were killed, and upwards of 5000 taken, with 400 horses and 62 colours. Such of them as were dispersed in the flight, retired home, and by reporting the surrendry of Contrebia and their own defeat, turned back another

* Now Tortosa in New Castile.

body of their countrymen who were coming to the relief. They all immediately slipped away to the villages and forts. Flaccus set out from that city, and laid waste all Celtiberia. He took many fortified places, till the greatest part of the country submitted.

CHAP. XXXIV. These were the memorable events in hither Spain this year. In the further province the prætor Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. The same year the Latins, to the number of 3000, settled at Aquile in the territories of the Gauls, by P. Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius, and L. Manlius Acidinus. Each foot soldier had 50 acres of land, the centurions 100 and the knights 140 apiece. Two temples were also dedicated this year; one to Venus Erycina at the Colline gate, by L. Porcius Licinus: it had been vowed by the consul his father in the Ligurian war the other by Manius Acilius Glabrio, in the Herni market, to Piety. In dedicating it, he caused the first gilded statue that had been seen in Italy to be erected in honour of his father Glabrio. The father had vowed this temple on the day he engaged Antiochus at Thermopylæ, and by decree of the senate had bargained for the expense of it. About the time that these temples were dedicated, L. Æmilius Paullus the proconsul triumphed for the Ligurian and Ingaunians. In the procession were carried 25 crowns of gold, but no gold or silver coin. Many of the principal Ligurians were led before his chariot. He distributed 300 aspes of brass to each of his soldiers. What rendered his triumph more famous, was deputies from Liguria demanding a perpetual peace. They assured the senate that their nation were fully determined never to take up arms, except by the order of the Roman people. The senate ordered the prætor Maximus to give them the following answer. " That this language of theirs was " not new. But it was most for their interest to
" make

" make new resolutions agreeable to their speech.
" They might repair to the consuls, and punctually
" execute their directions. For the senate would
" refer themselves to none else but these magistrates
" in respect to the sincerity of the intentions of the
" Ligurians." Peace was concluded with them.
The prætor Posca fought the Corsicans in their own
island, and killed 2000 of them. This defeat obliged
them to give hostages for their fidelity, and pay
100,000 pound weight of wax. From thence he
went on an expedition into Sardinia, and fought sev-
eral successful battles with the Ilians, a nation not
entirely reduced even at this day. This year also
the Romans restored 100 of their hostages to the
Carthaginians, and not only continued at peace with
them themselves, but procured it for them from
Masinissa, who with an army kept possession of the
district in dispute betwixt them.

CHAP. XXXV. The consuls had no employment
in their provinces. M. Baebius returned to the city
to hold the elections, wherein the fasces were trans-
ferred to A. Postumius Albinus Luscus and C. Cal-
purnius Piso. Then Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, L.
Postumius Albinus, P. Cornelius Mammula, Ti.
Minucius Molliculus, A. Hostilius Mancinus, and
C. Mænius were chosen prætors. All these magi-
strates entered on their office upon the 15th of May.
In the beginning of the new consulate, the consul
Luscus introduced to the senate, the lieutenant gen-
eral L. Minucius, and two legionary tribunes, T.
Mænius and L. Terentius Massiliota, who had come
as messengers from Flaccus in hither Spain. After
they had informed the Fathers of the two victories,
the submission of the Celtiberians, and the total re-
duction of the province, and that there was no oc-
casion to send the usual pay and corn to the army
there, they first demanded, " that thanks should be
" returned to the immortal gods for these victories ;
" then leave for Flaccus, when he left the province,
" to

“ to bring back the army, which had done the
“ greatest service by their bravery both under him
“ and preceding prætors. Besides they represented,
“ that there was an absolute necessity for doing
“ what was otherwise reasonable. For the troops
“ were so obstinate, that they would not be kept
“ there any longer, but would quit the province
“ without leave, if they were not disbanded, or
“ would raise a dangerous mutiny, if they were de-
“ tained by force.” Liguria was allotted to be the
province of both consuls. Then the prætors drew
lots for theirs. Mancinus got the jurisdiction of ci-
tizens; Molliculus, that of foreigners; Mammula,
Sicily; Mænius, Sardinia; Albinus, farther, and
Gracchus, hither Spain. The latter, who was to
succeed Flaccus, in order to prevent his being de-
prived of the veteran army, said, “ Let me ask you,
“ L. Minucius, since you say the province is entire-
“ ly reduced, if you think the Celtiberians will for-
“ ever continue faithful, and that the province may
“ be kept in subjection without an army? If you
“ cannot assure us absolutely of the fidelity of these
“ barbarians, and are of opinion that there should
“ still be an army there, whether would you advise
“ the senate to send recruits thither, to be mingled
“ with the veterans in room of such as have served
“ the legal number of campaigns who shall be dis-
“ banded? or to bring back the whole veteran ar-
“ my, and levy and send a new one to supply its
“ place? since the contempt the barbarians must
“ have for raw, undisciplined troops, would induce
“ even the most tractable among them to rebel. It
“ is easier to say, that a people of ferocity and ac-
“ customed to rebel are entirely reduced, than to
“ perform it. Indeed, if my information be true,
“ a few of the nearest states, overawed by the army
“ wintering in their neighbourhood, have submit-
“ ted, but those in the extreme parts of the province
“ are still in arms. If this be the case, I insist,
“ that

I have the army now in the province to act for me. But if Flaccus bring it with him, I winter in places that are at peace, and not send raw troops to warlike enemies."

P. XXXVI. The lieutenant-general replied, "neither he nor any one else could divine either the present or future resolutions of the Celts. Therefore he would not deny but it was the best policy to send an army amongst thosearians, who though quiet at present, were yet sufficiently accustomed to the yoke. But then it was most expedient to send a new or the old army there, he left to be determined him, who could tell upon his knowledge, whether the enemy would maintain the peace inviolate; and whether the troops would not mutiny, kept longer in the province. But if one could gain a judgment of their thoughts from their concord with one another, and the loud remonances they made to the general in their assemblies, he could assure them that they resolutely intended they would either keep their general in the province, or accompany him to Italy."

This conference between the prætor and lieutenant-general was interrupted by a motion of the consuls, declaratory, that their provinces should be prætor, before any mention was made of the præmises. Accordingly they were allowed two Roman legions with their complement of 5000 and the usual quota of Latins, 15,000 infantry and 800 cavalry. With this army they were ordered to make war upon the Ligurian Apuans. P. Cilius and M. Baebius were continued in their commands, with orders to remain in the province till the arrival of the new consuls. Then they were to disband their armies, and return to Rome.

Gracchus's army came again upon the . The consuls were ordered to levy for a new legion consisting of 5200 foot and 400 horse.

horse, besides 1000 Roman foot and fifty horse, with 7000 foot and 300 horse to be levied among the Latins. This force he was ordered to carry into his province. As for Flaccus, he had permission to bring back with him all the Romans and allies that had been sent into Spain before the consulate of Sp. Postumius and Q. Marcius, and after the arrival of the supplies, all those by whose valour he had gained the two victories over the Celtiberians, that exceeded two Roman legions consisting of 10,400 foot and 600 horse, and 12,000 Latin foot and 600 horse if he thought proper. Then supplications were appointed for his success, and the other prætors sent into their provinces. Buteo was continued in his command of Gaul. Thus the whole standing army that year was to be eight legions, besides the old army in Liguria, which hoped soon to be disbanded. However the plague, which had now raged three years in Rome and Italy, occasioned great difficulty in raising this small force.

CHAP. XXXVII. The prætor Minucius, and soon after the consul Culpurnius died, with many other illustrious men of all ranks. So at length the present mortality was turned into a prodigy. Upon this, C. Servilius, the pontifex maximus, was ordered to search for expedients to appease the wrath of the gods, and the decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books; the consul also to vow presents to Apollo, Aesculapius, and Health, and to erect gilded statues to them; which he accordingly performed. For restoring health, the decemvirs ordered supplications for two days in the city, and in all market-towns and villages. In these all above twelve years of age were to march in procession, with crowns on their heads and laurel branches in their hands. Besides, people began to suspect that the mortality might be owing to some devilish practices. Accordingly, by act of senate, a commission was

was granted to C. Claudius, who had been chosen prætor in the room of Minucius, to inquire after all poisonings in the city, and within ten miles round it; and also to C. Mænius, before he went into Sardinia, to take the same recognition in all market-towns and villages more than ten miles distant from Rome. The consul's death was most suspected of any. He was said to have been murdered by his wife Quarta Hostilia; and this report gained more credit, when Q. Fulvius Flaccus her son was chosen consul in room of his father-in-law. Witnesses appeared, who deposed, that after the nomination of Albinus and Piso to the consulate, from which Flaccus had been rejected, that his mother upbraided him with having thrice met with a repulse, at the same time bidding him make interest again, for she would take proper measures to have him elected within three months. Amongst other evidences, that speech of hers being verified by the event within the time she had fixed, was thought sufficient to condemn her. In the beginning of the spring, while the levies detained the consuls at Rome, and the death of one and election of another in his room retarded all business there, P. Cornelius Lentulus and M. Bæbius, who had performed nothing memorable during their consulate, marched against the Apuans.

CHAP. XXXVIII. These people, who did not expect to be attacked before the arrival of the consuls, being thus surprised, surrendered to the number of 12,000. Cornelius and Bæbius, after writing to the senate for their advice, resolved to remove them from the mountains into the plains, to such a distance from their country, that they should entertain no hopes of ever returning to it again. They were convinced that this was the only means for terminating the Ligurian war. The Romans were in possession of a district of Samnium, which had formerly belonged to the Taurasini. Chusing to settle

the Apuans there, they published an edict, ordering them all, with their wives and children, and all the effects they could carry with them, to quit the mountains of Anidos *. The Ligurians, by their deputies, earnestly conjured them not to compel them to abandon their household gods, the country which had given them birth, and the tombs of their ancestors; for the rest, they promised to deliver up their arms and give hostages. But finding the proconsuls inexorable, and themselves not strong enough to sustain a war, they obeyed the edict. Thus they were transplanted at the public expense, to the number of 40,000 men with their wives and children. They were allowed 150,000 silver sesterces to defray the expense of building new houses. Cornelius and Bæbius, who had led them to their new settlement, were charged with dividing the lands amongst them, but upon their petition five others were joined in the commission with them. Having finished this business, they returned with the old army to Rome, where a triumph was decreed to them by the senate. They were the first generals who triumphed without having made war. Only prisoners were led in their procession, because they had nothing else either to carry, lead, or distribute to their soldiers.

CHAP. XXXIX The same year Fulvius Flaccus, the proprætor in hither Spain, because his successor was long of coming, quitted his winter-quarters, and went into the further parts of his province, which had not yet submitted, with a design to ravage their lands. This rather irritated than terrified these barbarians. They secretly prepared an army, and seized the pass of Manlius, through which they knew the Roman army was to pass. When Albinus set out for the further provinces, Gracchus sent orders by him to Flaccus, to bring his troops to Tarraco, where he intended to disband

* New Bergallia.

the old troops, distribute the new, and marshal them all into different companies. Nay, Flaccus was informed of the very day when his successor would arrive, which was near at hand. This news made him lay aside the plans he had formed, and hasten out of Celtiberia. The barbarians, not knowing the real motive of his retreat, and thinking he had discovered and was afraid of their secret armament, guarded the defile more strictly. The Romans had no sooner entered it by break of day, than the enemies started up at both extremities, and attacked them. When Flaccus perceived this, his first care was to prevent confusion among his troops, by ordering the centurions to make every man keep his rank, and make ready his arms. He threw the baggage and carriage-beasts into one place, and then partly in person, and partly by the lieutenant-generals and legionary tribunes, drew up the troops, without shewing any fear or perplexity, in as good order as the time and ground would admit. Then he represented to them, “ That they had to do with “ an enemy whom they had twice forced to sur-
“ render. They have no more strength and cou-
“ rage now than formerly. Their only new acce-
“ sions are guilt and perfidy. We shall be obliged
“ to them for a glorious and memorable return to
“ our country, which would otherwise have been
“ obscure. We shall carry in our triumph at Rome
“ swords reeking with recent slaughter, and spoils
“ dropping blood.” He had not time to say more. For the enemy had fallen on, and the fight, which was begun at both extremities, soon extended through the whole army.

CHAP. XL. The action was every where very warm, but attended with various fortune. The two legions in the centre and the allies sustained the battle with great bravery; but the Spanish auxiliaries, who had to deal with men armed at all points like themselves, and somewhat better soldiers, were

not able to keep their ground. The Celtiberians, seeing they were not a match for the legions by fighting in a large front close at hand, attacked them in form of a wedge. In this kind of charge they had so much the advantage, that where-ever they attacked, it was impossible to sustain them. In consequence they put the legions into disorder, and had almost broke the Roman main body. When Flaccus perceivcd the confusion among his men, he galloped up to the legionary cavalry, and said, “ Can “ you give no relief ? Must this fine army be cut “ to pieces ? ” They all cried out to him, to name what he would have them do, and they would execute it immediately. “ Double your ranks,” cried he, “ by uniting the horse of two legions, and “ charge that wedge, which presses our centre so “ vigorously. This you will do with more force, “ if you unbridle your horses.” There are many instances on record, where the Romans used this expedient with great success. They immediately executed their general’s order. They pulled off their bridles, and twice charged backwards and forwards through the enemy, breaking their lances and making great slaughter of them. By this means was the wedge, on which the enemy placed their sole dependence, breken, and they began to tremble, and, leaving off fighting, looked about for a way to escape. The cavalry of the allies, seeing this glorious action of the Roman horse, and fired with an emulation of their valour, charged without orders the enemies horse, which were already in disorder. Then the rout became general ; and Flaccus, observing the enemy turn their backs, vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris, and games in honour of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings. Great slaughter was made of the enemy all over the defile, where they were dispersed in the flight. * It is said 17,000 were killed, and 3000 taken, with 277 standards, and 1100 horse. The victorious

army

army retired to no camp that day. After all, this victory was not gained without much bloodshed. The Romans lost 472, the Latins 1019, and the Spanish auxiliaries 3000. Then the army, having made a great accession to their former glory, marched to Tarraco. The prætor Gracchus, who had arrived there two days before, went out to meet Flaccus on his march, and congratulated him on the glorious service he had done the state. These two generals with great harmony agreed upon the troops which should be dismissed, and those which should remain in the province. After that Flaccus embarked the troops that were discharged, and set out for Rome. Gracchus marched into Celtiberia. Both consuls entered Liguria by different routes.

CAP. XLI. Postumius with the first and third legions seized the mounts of Balista and Suismont, and by shutting up the defiles; though which the enemy got their provisions, obliged them to submit for want of all kinds of necessaries. Fulvius with the second and fourth having forced the Apuans, who dwelt on the river Macra on the side of Pisa, to submit, embarked 7000 of them, and coasting along Tuscany, transported them to Naples. From thence he led them to Samnium, and assigned them lands among their countrymen. Postumius burnt the vineyards and corn of the Ligurians inhabiting the mountains, till, by making them suffer all the calamities of war, he obliged them to surrender and deliver up their arms. Then he went with some ships to survey the coasts of the Ligurian Ingauniens and Intemelians. Before these consuls arrived at the army, which had been appointed to rendezvous at Pisa, it was commanded by A. Postumius and M. Fulvius Nobilior, brother of Quintus. The latter was a tribune of the second legion. During the months that he commanded, he dismissed that legion, having first made the centurions take an oath, that they would return their pay to the

quaestors. Postumius, who had chanced to go to Placentia, no sooner heard this, than he pursued them with some light horse, and brought back to Pisæ as many as he could overtake, after having severely rebuked them, and then informed the consul of the rest. Upon the consul's motion the senate passed a decree, to banish M. Fulvius to Spain, and confine him beyond New Carthage. Letters were given him to carry to the prætor Manlius in the further province. The soldiers were ordered to return to their colours, and, as a mark of disgrace, that legion was allowed only half-pay during that year. The consul had commission to sell the effects and persons of such as should not return.

CHAP. XLII. The same year, L. Duronius, prætor of the preceding year, arrived at Brundisium with ten sail of ships from Illyricum. There he left them, and returned to Rome. In giving the senate a detail of his exploits, among other things he represented, “That Gentius, king of Illyricum, was certainly the author of all the piracies committed by sea. For all the ships that had plundered the coasts of the Adriatic, belonged to that prince. That he had sent a deputation to him to complain of these violences, but he refused them admittance.” Gentius, on the contrary, had sent envoys to Rome, to represent, “That at the time the Roman ambassadors arrived at his court, he lay dangerously ill at the extremities of his kingdom. He begged the senate not to give credit to the false accusations his enemies had brought against him.” Duronius added, that many Roman citizens and Latins had been insulted in his dominions, and he even kept many Romans prisoners in Corcyra. The senate ordered them all to be brought to Rome, and the prætor C. Claudius to take cognisance of the affair, and that no answer should be returned to Gentius's deputies, till it was finished. Among many others who died of the plague this year, were several priests, L. Valerius

lerius Flaccus, a pontiff, died, and was succeeded by Q. Fabius Labeo; P. Manlius, one of the triumvirs for the celebration of solemn feasts, and who had lately returned from further Spain, was succeeded by Q. Fulvius, son of Marcus, who had not yet put on the manly gown. There was a hard struggle between C. Servilius, the pontifex maximus, and L. Cornelius Dolabella, about supplying the room of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, as king of the sacrifices. The latter being admiral of a fleet, the pontifex ordered him to demit that office before he could be inaugurated. He refused, for which the pontifex fined him. The admiral lodged an appeal, and brought the affair before the people. Just as most of the tribes which had been called into the voting-place had declared the admiral ought to submit to the priest, and that in case he demitted his command, his fine should be remitted, it thundered, and so the assembly broke up. Upon this the priests were seized with a religious scruple of inaugurating Dolabella. So they installed P. Clœlius Siculus, and conferred on him the second place in their college. In the end of the year, C. Servilius Geminus, the pontifex maximus, died. He was likewise one of the ten keepers of the sacred books. In his room as priest the college chose Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Æmilius Lepidus was preferred to many illustrious candidates to succeed him as pontifex maximus, and Q. Marcius Philippus as keeper of the sacred books. Sp. Postumius Albinus the augur died, and their college chose in his room P. Scipio son of Africanus. Upon a petition from the people of Cumæ, they were allowed to use the Latin tongue in their public acts, and their criers to use it in auctions.

CHAP. XLIII. The senate thanked the Pisans for their offer of lands to settle a Roman colony in. The three commissioners who were appointed to settle it were Q. Fabius Buteo, M. and P. Popillii Lænates. C. Mænius, who had got the prætorship of Sardinia,

with

with commission to take cognisance of the p
in Italy, wrote to the senate, “ That he had
“ condemned 3000 persons. But as this trou
“ inquiry daily increased by the multitude of ir
“ tions, he must either defer it, or abdicate
“ vince.” At the same time Q. Fulvius
returned to Rome full of glory, and while he
without the city waiting for his triumph, was
consul with L. Manlius Acidinus. Within
days he entered Rome in triumph at the head
troops he had brought with him. In the pri
were carried 124 gold crowns, thirty-one p
weight of gold, 173,000 pieces of silver co
Huesca. Out of the spoils he gave each foot
500 denarii †, double to the centurions, an
to the knights. He rewarded the Latins
same proportion, and gave all in general doul
This year L. Villius, tribune of the people,
the law which determined the necessary a
standing candidate for and bearing each mag
This occasioned the whole family of Villii to
named ANNALES.

CHAP. XLIV. Many years after the cu
chusing only four prætors agreeable to the
law, which ordained that each should contin
years in his province, had been discontinue
Cornelius Scipio, C. Valerius Lævinus, Q.
Mucii, sons of Scævola, were elected prætors
new consuls had the same provinces, and th
number of horse and foot, Romans and Latii
the former had; Sempronius and Postumiu
continued in the two Spains, and the command
armies under them. Besides, the consuls were
ed to levy 3000 Roman foot and 300 horse
5000 foot and 400 horse belonging to the
and send as a recruit to them. P. Scævola
jurisdiction over citizens, with the cognisance
poisoners in the city, and within ten miles ro

* 1488 l.

† 16 l. 2. s. 11 d.

ding the temple. As to the expense of the
“ it was not to exceed what had been allot-
, Fulvius Nobilior, when he exhibited games
having terminated the Ætolian war. That
ould neither seek, collect, receive, or act a-
ing contrary to an act of senate relating to
s, passed in the consulate of L. Æmilius and
Bæbius.” This decree of senate had been
ed by the vast expenses of the games exhib-
be ædile Ti. Sempronius, which had fallen
avy, not only upon Italy and the Latins, but
on the foreign provinces.

P. XLV. This winter produced a great
of snow and storms of all kinds. The tem-
s, upon which frost had an easy effect, were
ed; besides, the winter continued longer than
in consequence a sudden and boisterous storm
d the celebration of the feriæ Latinæ on
Alba, so that they were renewed by direcⁿtion
riests. The same tempest threw down many
in the Capitol, and many places were defaced
htning, the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina,
te temple at Capua, the gate called Romana,

day in the temple of Jupiter. Then the games which Q. Fulvius had vowed were celebrated during ten days with the greatest magnificence. Then the comitia were held for the election of censors. M. Æmilius Lepidus, the pontifex maximus, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed for the Ætolians, were promoted to that dignity. There was a mutual enmity between these great men, which had broke out in several violent contests, both in the senate, and before the people. When the elections were over, and the new censors had ascended their curule chairs, in the field of Mars, near the altar of that god, the principal senators, followed by a great train ran thither. Then Q. Cæcilius Metelius made them the following speech.

CHAP. XLVI. " We are very sensible, censors, " that the Roman people have just now constituted " you the arbiters of our manners, and that it is you " who are to correct and regulate our conduct, " not we yours. Give us leave, however, to point " out what in you gives offence to all persons of " worth, at least what they wish you would amend. " When we consider each of you separately, Æmi- " lius and Fulvius, there is no member of our state " whom we would prefer to you, were we to give " our suffrages again. But when we survey you " both together, we cannot help being afraid, that " you are very ill joined; and that, since animosi- " ties subsist between you, the commonwealth may " suffer, though you have the esteem of all indivi- " duals. You have been at open enmity for many " years, which must sit heavy upon, and be very " prejudicial to yourselves; but this day we have " reason to apprehend, it may become infinitely " more so to us and the republic, than to you. Ma- " ny reasons which easily suggest themselves, might " be named, to justify our fears, if it were not that " the mentioning them might render your mutual " hatred implacable. We all in general conjure
" you

“ you to lay aside those animosities this day, and in
“ this sacred temple; and, as the Roman people
“ have by their suffrages united you in the same
“ office, you would suffer us to unite you by a hear-
“ ty reconciliation. You are with one mind and
“ one council to review the senate, and the order
“ of knights, to tax the citizens, and close the lu-
“ strum. All these you are to introduce with this
“ solemn form of prayer, *May the gods grant, that*
“ *the present business may turn to the glory and advantage*
“ *of me and my colleague.* Act therefore in them all
“ with that sincerity and unanimity, as will con-
“ vinec all men, that you heartily wish the accom-
“ plishment of the prayers you address to the gods.
“ Tatius and Romulus, after fighting sword in
“ hand in the middle of our forum, governed the
“ same state in union and concord. Not only pri-
“ vate dissensions, but even wars, are terminated
“ by amicable agreements. States, from inveterate
“ enemies, often become faithful allies, nay fellow-
“ citizens. The Albans, after the demolition of
“ their city, removed to Rome; the Latins and the
“ Sabins were incorporated with the Romans. This
“ maxim, *Friendships ought to be immortal, enmities*
“ *mortal,* became a common proverb, because found-
“ ed in reason.” A murmur of applause interrupted
Metellus, and all joined together in the request.
Then Æmilius, among other things, complained
that Fulvius had twice disappointed him of the con-
sulate, when he was otherwise sure of it. On the
other side, Fulvius insisted, that Æmilius had con-
stantly provoked him, and had, to disgrace him,
brought a suit against him, and forced him to give
security for the thing in dispute. However, they both
signified, that if the other was willing, they would
comply with the desire of so many illustrious persons.
At the instances of all present, they affectionately
embraced, protested they were sincere in their recon-
ciliation, and renounced all resentment. Then the

company

company with loud acclamations waited on them to the Capitol. The senate highly approved and applauded the care of the principal citizens in bringing about this reconciliation, and the facility of the censors in complying with their desires. These magistrates desired a certain sum might be assigned them to be laid out on the public works, and they obtained a whole year's revenue.

CHAP. XLVII. The same year Postumius and Sempronius, praetors of Spain, agreed between themselves, that the former should cross Lusitania into the country of the Vaccæi, and then return into Celtiberia. As the latter had the most important war upon his hands, he penetrated directly into the extremities of Celtiberia. His first exploit was taking Munda *, by surprising it in the night. Having received hostages from the inhabitants, and put a garrison in the town, he proceeded to reduce the castles, and lay waste the country with fire and sword, till he came to another strong city called Certima †. As he was approaching it with his machines, deputies came out, who with an ancient but honest frankness confessed, that they would not have yielded if they had had strength sufficient to sustain the war. They demanded leave to go to the Celtiberian camp to procure succour, which if they should not obtain, they would consult their own interest separate from theirs. Gracchus granted their request, and some days after they returned with ten other deputies. They arrived about mid-day, and before they made any other demand of the praetor, desired he would order them some drink. After drinking one glass, they called for another, while all the company burst into laughter, at their unpoliteness and want of manners. Then the oldest of them said, " We are deputed from our nation, to inquire, what sure dependence induced

* Some conjecture it to have been the modern Madrid.

† Cetina, on the confines of Arragon and Castile.

" you

u to make war on us." Gracchus smartly said, "I came hither relying on the valour of my brave troops, which, if you have the curiosity, I will shew you, that you may carry back a certain answer to your countrymen." According to his orders the legionary tribunes to draw up both horse and foot, and file off under arms before . After this the deputies departed, and deterred countrymen from sending succours to the relief of the town that was invested. The townsmen illuminated their turrets at night, which he signal agreed on. So seeing themselves disengaged of their only hope of assistance, they surrendered at discretion. They were ordered to pay 2,000 sesterces *, and send 40 of their principal youth, not as hostages, for they were ordered to be in the war, and yet in reality they were secured by their fidelity.

CAP. XLVIII. From thence he marched to the city of Alce †, where was the Celtiberian camp which the late deputation had come. For several days he harassed them by detaching light troops from their advanced guards, who had small numbers, that, by daily increasing their number, he could draw them out to a general action. When his stratagem took effect, he ordered the prætor of the auxiliaries, as soon as they came to blows, only to retreat to the camp, as if they had been beaten by those who pursued them. In the meantime he kept his troops in order of battle without the gates. He soon saw the enemy precipitate themselves into his detachment, which retired by con-

For this opportunity he waited under arms in his intrenchments. He only tarried to give his men a free retreat within the camp, and then shouting up a shout, fellied out at all the gates at once. The enemy were not able to sustain this unexpected charge, and those who had come with a resolu-

* 9,375 l. † Near Ucles in New Castile.

Iusion to force the Roman lines, were not able to defend their own. For being soon put to the route, they were forced in precipitation to their camp, and then driven out of it. In that action they had 9000 killed, 320 taken prisoners, with 37 standards. The Romans lost only 109 men.

CHAP. XLIX. After this victory Gracchus led his legions to lay Celtiberia waste. Having carried and driven off all the effects in the country, some of the people from choice, others out of fear received his yoke. Within a few days 103 towns surrendered to him, and he got a vast booty. Then he marched back to Alce, from whence he had come, and resolved to invest it. The inhabitants sustained his first assault. But when they saw it attacked not only sword in hand, but with machines, they despaired of being able to defend it, and retired all together into the citadel. At last they sent deputies who surrendered their persons and effects to the Romans. Here they got a great booty and many noble prisoners, among whom were the two sons and a daughter of Turrus, their king, and by far the most powerful prince in Spain. When he heard of the misfortune of his children, he sent deputies to Gracchus to obtain a safe protection, under which he might come to his camp. Accordingly he came, and first asked whether the general would grant him and his children their lives. The prætor answering in the affirmative, he then asked permission to serve in the war under the Romans. Gracchus likewise granted him this. Then, says he, I will follow you against my ancient allies, since they deign not to regard me. From henceforth he accompanied the Romans, and did them signal service in several places.

CHAP. L. Then Ergavica *, a noble and strong city, terrified at the fate of the neighbouring towns, opened her gates to the prætor. Some authors say,

* Its situation not determined.

“ that

" that this submission was only a feint, and that " they revolted as soon as he had withdrawn his le- " gions out of their neighbourhood. That after- " wards the prætor fought a bloody battle with " these Celtiberians near mount Caunus *, from " day-break till noon, wherein many were killed " on both sides. All the advantage the Romans " had was, that next day they challenged the ene- " my who would not quit their lines. So he spent " the whole day in gathering the spoils. The third " day he fought a bloodier battle, wherein he gain- " ed a complete victory over the Celtiberians, whose " camp he took and pillaged. In that action he " killed 22,000, took upwards of 300 prisoners, " with about an equal number of horses, and 72 stan- " dards. This finally terminated the war, and the " Celtiberians made a more sincere submission than " they had done before." It is recorded, that Post- umius the same campaign gained two victories over the Vaccæi in the further Spain. He killed about 35,000 of them, and took their camp. But it is more probable, that he arrived in the province too late to perform such great exploits during that cam- paign.

CHAP. LI. The censors drew up a list of the se- nators with great unanimity, and Lepidus the pon- tifex was nominated prince of it. They degraded only three members, and Lepidus continued several in the list whom his colleague had left out. They divided the sums allowed them, and expended them in the following works. Lepidus raised a causey near Tarracina, which brought a reflection upon him, because he had an estate there, and had blend- ed his own interest and the public together. He e- rected a theatre for plays in the Capitol near the tem- ple of Apollo, and ordered the columns round it to be cleaned and whitened. He also took down from these columns all the statues, which were ill placed,

* Moncayo on the confines of Castile and Arragon.

with the colours and bucklers. But Fulvius em^ployed the public money in a greater number of more useful works. He made a key to Rome, and erected the piers of a stone bridge cross the Tiber. But some years after, P. Scipio Asiaticus and L. Mummius in their censorship laid the arches over these piers. He built a fine hall behind the bankers residence, and a fish-market, which he surrounded with shops, which he afterwards sold to private persons. He made a market and portico without the gate Trigemina, and also erected porticoes over-against the key, near the temple of Hercules, behind that of Hope, near that of Apollo Medicus. Besides, the censors had a joint fund, with which they proposed to make an aqueduct, and had agreed with undertakers to build the arches of it. But M. Licinius Crassus put a stop to it, and would not suffer it to be carried through his ground. They likewise imposed several taxes and imposts, and restored many chapels to the public, which private persons had usurped, and caused them to be set open to all the people in common. They changed the manner of admitting the tribes to the voting-places, making them take place according to their ward, and making the persons of rank go first, and every trade enter together.

CHAP. LII. Æmilius also moved the senate to grant him money to expend on games at the dedication of temples to Juno queen of the gods, and Diana, which he had vowed in the Ligurian war. They allowed him 20,000 ases of brass. He dedicated both temples in the circus Flaminius, and exhibited stage-plays in that place three successive days after the dedication of that to Juno, and two after that to Diana. The same censor dedicated a temple in the field of Mars to the sea-gods, which had been vowed eleven years before by L. Æmilius Regillus in a sea-fight with Antiochus's admirals. Over the door of it was placed the following inscription.

tion. "For terminating an important war between two kings * , reducing the author of it to reason, and obliging him to make peace, the prætor L. Æmilius Regillus, son of Marcus, was sent to fight this battle. Under his auspices, command, good fortune, and conduct, between Ephesus, Samos, and Chios, was the fleet of king Antiochus, on the eleventh day before the calends of January, vanquished, routed, shattered, and put to flight. That day 42 ships of war were taken with all their crews. After which fight Antiochus and his kingdom * * * In consideration of this success, the prætor vowed this temple to the sea-gods." The same inscription was fixed above the gate of Jupiter's temple in the Capitol.

CHAP. LIII. Two days after the censors had made up the list of the senate, the consul Fulvius set out on an expedition against the Ligurians, and marching over mountains, valleys, and through forests, never passed before, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy. He not only defeated them in the field, but took their camp. 3200 of the enemy, and all that part of Liguria, submitted. The consul sent those who surrendered down into the plains, and posted a strong guard on the mountains. He sent an express with the news to Rome, where a supplication was appointed for three days, on account of his success. During the supplication the prætors sacrificed forty large victims. The other consul Manlius performed nothing memorable in Liguria. 3000 Gauls passed over the Alps into Italy, without offering violence to any person, and petitioned the consuls and senate to assign them a settlement, where they might live quietly under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The senate ordered them to quit Italy, and gave Fulvius instructions to search after and punish the authors of their passing the Alps.

CHAP. LIV. This year also died Philip king of * Antiochus and Eumenes.

Macedonia, worn out with old age and grief for the death of his son. He had passed the winter at Demetrias in great affliction for his loss, and bitter remorse for his own cruelty. His other son, whom he saw considered as king both by himself and others, increased his uneasiness. Every body paid their court to Perseus, and despised him in his old age; so that he was quite enraged to see some expecting his death with impatience, and others not even waiting till it arrived. He had with him one Antigonus, son of Echerates, named so after his uncle Antigonus, who had been Philip's tutor. The uncle was a man of royal majesty, and had signalized himself in a battle with Cleomenes, king of Sparta. To distinguish him from the other kings, the Greeks gave him the appellation of GUARDIAN. Of all Philip's courtiers none adhered faithfully to him but this prince's nephew. However this loyal fidelity of his was so far from gaining him the friendship of Perseus, that it rendered him his mortal enemy. Antigonus, clearly foreseeing the danger he would be in if the crown devolved to Perseus, waited his opportunity, when he perceived the king uneasy in mind and sighing for the loss of his son, and sometimes hearkened attentively to his lamentations, and sometimes irritated his resentment by urging the temerity of the deed. He often seconded his complaints, and as truth usually furnishes matter to trace her by, he endeavoured all in his power to make an early discovery of the whole murder. The most suspected instruments of it were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent as ambassadors to Rome, from whence they brought letters from Flamininus to Demetrios, which proved fatal to the latter. For it was commonly reported at court, that those letters were counterfeit, and forged by their secretary Xyphus, and sealed with a false signet.

CHAP. LV. But these were only mere conjectures,

tures, without proof to support them. However, it happened, that Antigonus meeting Xychus, seized him, and carried him to court, where, leaving him under a guard, he went in and told the king. “ If it please your Majesty, I imagined by many speeches of yours, that you had a great anxiety to know the whole truth relating to your two sons, which of them it was that plotted the death of the other. Xychus, the person in the world who can best resolve this mystery, is now in your power. As he is luckily brought to the palace, let me intreat your Majesty to call him in.” Being brought into the royal presence, he at first denied every thing; but wavered so, and was so inconsistent, that it was probable, the least menace of tortures would bring him to make a full discovery. He relented at the first sight of the racks and rods, and gave an ample detail of the treachery of the ambassadors, and the part he himself had acted in it. Persons were immediately dispatched to seize the deputies. They surprised Philocles on the spot; but Apelles, who had been sent to Chærea in pursuit of some person, hearing of the discovery made by Xychus, fled to Italy. As to Philocles, we have no certain account. Some say, that at first he confidently denied all, but, when confronted with Xychus, made a full confession. Whilst others say, he expired on the rack, denying all to the last. However, this renewed Philip’s sorrow and grief, and he thought himself the more unhappy in having had sons, as one of them had perished innocently.

CHAP. LVI. Perse, being informed, that all was discovered, knew his interest was too strong to oblige him to seek safety in flight. He only took care to keep at a distance from the court, resolving, while his father lived, to defend himself against the effects of his violent rage. Philip, seeing it out of his power to execute justice on the person of his son, applied himself to the only thing that remained, to prevent

prevent him, besides impunity, from reaping the fruits of his villany. He called Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for bringing this unnatural fratricide to light, and whom he thought the Macedonians would neither be ashamed or repent to have for their king, on account of the recent glory of his uncle Antiochus. He thus addressed him, " Since, O Antigonus, such is my unhappy fate, that I ought to wish I were childless, a thing which other parents abhor ; I am resolved to bequeath to you a kingdom which I received from your illustrious uncle, and which he preserved and enlarged by his bravery, while he proved a faithful guardian to me. You are the only person whom I think worthy of my crown. If I had nobody to succeed me, I should chuse rather that it was lost and perished, than be enjoyed by Perseus as the reward of his villainous intrigues. I should think Demetrius raised from the dead, and restored to me, if I can leave in his room, you who alone lamented the death of that innocent prince, and my fatal error." Ever after this speech, he never ceased to heap all kinds of honours upon him in view of all the world. In the absence of Perseus, who was in Thrace, he took a progress round all the cities of Macedonia, recommending him to the principal men ; and it is not to be doubted, but, if his life had been prolonged a while, he would have left him in possession of the crown. He set out from Demetrias, and staid a considerable time in Thessalonica. On his journey from thence to Amphipolis he was seized with a violent distemper. However, it is certain he was more distempered in mind than in body. Tormented with want of sleep, he imagined the ghost of Demetrius, whom he had innocently murdered, haunted and loaded him with curses ; so he died venting execrations against Perseus. Antigonus might have made advantage of this, if he had had immediate intelligence of the king's death.

death. But Calligenes, the physician who attended the king, did not stay for his death, but seeing from the beginning, by the symptoms, that the distemper was mortal, dispatched, according to concert, expresses, that had been laid beforehand on purpose, to Perse, and concealed his death from all without the palace till his arrival.

CHAP. LVII. By this means Perse surprised them all unexpectedly and ignorant of the matter, and seized a crown which he had acquired by fratricide. The death of Philip happened very seasonably to give Perse some respite for preparing forces for a war. For the nation of the Bastarnæ who had been long solicited thereto, passed the Ister with a vast body of horse and foot. Antigonus, and Cotto, a nobleman of that nation, had come some time before to advertise Philip of this. Antigonus, against his inclination, had been sent along with Cotto to raise that nation. However receiving uncertain intelligence, near Amphipolis, of the king's death, marred their designs. It had been agreed, that Philip should give the Bastarnæ a safe passage through Thrace, and furnish them with provisions. In order to effect this, he had loaded the principal men of that country with presents, upon which they had faithfully engaged to give the Bastarnæ a safe passage. The design was to exterminate the Dardans, and give them their country to settle in. Two advantages were proposed by this. The one was, the extirpation of a people, declared enemies of the Macedonians, who always took advantage of the adversity of their kings: the other, that the Bastarnæ, leaving their wives and children in Dardania, might be sent to ravage Italy. They were to pass through the country of Scordisci, to go to the Adriatic sea and Italy, for there was no other way to lead an army. Philip imagined that the Scordisci would easily grant this, as they differed from the Bastarnæ neither in language nor customs; Nay that they would join them when they saw them going

going to ravage this opulent country. These designs were accommodated to whatever should happen. For in case the Romans should cut the Bastarnæ to pieces, yet it would still be some consolation for this loss, that the Dardans were extirpated; and he should have all that the Bastarnæ left behind them, and the free possession of Dardania. Or in case they should succeed in their expedition, he would have an opportunity of recovering what he had lost in Greece, while the Romans were diverted by the Bastarnian war. This was Philip's plan.

CHAP. LVIII. Accordingly, upon the faith of Antigonus and Cotto, that people began their march very peaceably. But after advice of Philip's death, the Thracians were not so easy to be dealt with, nor the Bastarnæ content with what they bought, or to be kept in their ranks and from straggling. This occasioned violences on both sides, which increasing daily, at length kindled an open war. At last the Thracians, seeing they were not able to sustain the force and numbers of the enemy, left their villages in the plains, and retired to a vast high mountain called Donuca *. The Bastarnæ intended to have attacked them there, but were surprised, as they were approaching the top, with such a storm, as is reported to have destroyed the Gauls, when they spoiled the temple of Apollo. They were not only overwhelmed with a terrible rain, thick hail, and thunder and lightning flashing in their eyes, but the lightning struck them on all sides, as if it had been purposely levelled at their bodies, insomuch that not only the common soldiers, but even the officers were killed by it. In consequence they fled with precipitation, and while they run down the precipices without precaution, the Thracians fell upon them in their consternation. But they themselves gave out, that the gods were the authors of their flight, and that the sky had tumbled down upon them. Being

* A part of mount Hæmus.

thus

thus dispersed by the storm, and the greatest part of them, as if from a shipwreck, had regained their camp half-armed, they began to deliberate what course to take. Upon this a great contention arose among them ; some declaring for returning home, and others for penetrating into Dardania. About 30,000 of them, under the conduct of Elonicus, marched on, while the rest returned the way they came, and regained the country beyond the Danube. Perse, having got possession of the crown, ordered Antigonus to be put to death ; and till he should firmly establish himself, he sent a deputation to Rome, to renew the ancient alliance, and request the senate to recognise him king. These were the principal events in Macedonia, during this year.

CHAP. LIX. One of the consuls Fulvius triumphed for the Ligurians. It is certain that this honour was granted him more out of favour, than that he merited it by great exploits. In the procession were carried vast quantities of arms taken from the enemy, but no money. However he distributed 300 asses of brass to each foot-soldier, twice that sum to the centurions, and thrice as much to a knight. The most remarkable circumstance of his triumph was, that it happened on the same day on which he had that honour the year before when proprætor. After the triumph he appointed the tribes to assemble for the election of consuls, and they conferred the fasces on M. Junius Brutus and A. Manlius Vulso. Then the election of prætors came on, but was interrupted by a storm, so that three were only chosen that day. The next day, which was the eleventh of March, other three were chosen, M. Titinius Curvus, Ti. Claudius Nero, and T. Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were exhibited a second time, on account of some prodigies that had happened, by the curule ædiles, Cn. Servilius Cæpio and Ap. Claudius Centho. A lectisternium was spread in the public forum, where an earthquake had happened. The gods

gods who lay in state at that procession turned away their heads of their own accord, and the wall and carpets before Jupiter fell down. It was also taken for a prodigy that mice had tasted of the olives at the table. No other expiation was used for these except renewing the games.

BOOK XLI.

ABRIDGMENT.

I. A lustrum closed. Successes in both Spains. Sempronius Gracchus builds Gracchuris. The consul's camp in Istria abandoned by his own troops; seized by the enemy, who, in their turn, are killed drunk or asleep. X. The consul Claudius leaves Rome without taking the auspices; on his arrival at the army, the consuls of the former year do not submit to his authority. XI. The Istrians surrender themselves. XII. Success in Sardinia. The consul Claudius triumphs over two nations. XIV. The Ligurians revolt; the consular auspices unfavourable. XV. The praetors petition not to be sent to the provinces. XVIII. Valerius triumphs for the Ligurians. XIX. Affairs in Greece. XX. Character of Antiochus Epiphanes. XXII. Affairs in Macedonia. XXV. Intense dissensions among the Aetolian and Cretans. XXVI. Affairs in Spain. XXVII. Action of the censors.

CHAP. I. [*] IN the beginning of the year the consuls and praetors having entered upon their magistracies, drew lots for their provinces. Vulso got Gaul, and Brutus Liguria. Of the praetors, Curvus got the jurisdiction over citizens; Nero, that over foreigners; Ligus, Sicily; Carus, Sardinia; M. Titinius hither, and Capit further Spain. Gracchus and Sempronius were continued in the command of these latter provinces, till

* The chapters in this and the following books, supplied by Dujatius are all inclosed within crotchetts.

arrival of the new prætors. Before the prætors ut for their provinces, a fire made terrible havock at the forum, and among other ædifices, the temple of Vesta was burnt to the ground. But what grieved men most, was letting out the sacred fire of a. The virgin who tended it was scourged with rods by order of Lepidus the pontifex maximus, who would not allow her to be punished with death. Several supplications were appointed for expiating these miseries, and the consuls offered the larger sacrifices to appease the wrath of the gods. After this the censors M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior held the lustrum. The number of registered citizens amounted to 273,244. About the same time the prætor Gracchus vigorously prosecuted the cause he had so happily entered upon during the preceding year against the Celiberians. He was yet in the flower of youth, and possessing a greater share of energy and application than men commonly do at his age, not only conceived hopes himself of performing great exploits, but inspired the troops with some expectation. In consequence, hearing that the enemy, to the number of 20,000, had besieged bis *, a city in alliance with the Romans, he did not shrink from the task, but flew to its relief. These allies were closely invested, that it was believed it was impossible to communicate the news of this succour to them. However an undaunted hero, one Cominius, undertook this difficult enterprise. He was a captain of men, and putting on a Spanish habit, joined the Numidian foragers. With them he entered their camp, from whence he got into the town, where he informed the inhabitants of the prætor's approach. They were quite in despair, but this news so raised their spirits and courage, that, fortified against all assaults of the enemy, they, by a brave defence, waited for the time to come up and raise the siege. The mean time enemy, seeing open force did not know.

not succeed, had recourse to stratagem, by which they alarmed the Roman camp. Great numbers of people had flocked from the cities which Cato had dismantled in one day, to a new city to which they gave the name of Complega. About 20,000 of these people came out, with the appearance of suppliants, carrying olive-branches in their hands, and halted in view of the Roman camp, seeming to beg peace. But all of a sudden they threw down those badges of suppliants, and brandishing their swords, assaulted the camp with a terrible shout. Their sudden attack and horrible cries spread terror in all quarters of it. However, Gracchus eluded, nay, retorted the enemy's stratagem by another artifice. He feigned flight, and quitted his camp, but returned and charged the enemy busied in rifling it. He not only killed a great number of them, but even took the town from whence they came. Then he made a good use of his victory; for he forced many cities, exhausted with the calamities of war, to submit, and reduced all the neighbouring nations. Then distributing lands to those that wanted them, and assigning settlements to each people, he made a treaty with all the Celtiberians, and the neighbouring nations who joined them. By this means he brought a very considerable part of Spain into an alliance with the Romans. The regulations of this league were observed as laws by posterity. Hence it is not surprising to find Polybius say, that Gracchus took or demolished 300 towns belonging to the Celtiberians. Posidonius thinks, that this was exaggerating the truth in favour of Gracchus, as so small and barren a country could not contain so great a number of cities: besides the Spaniards themselves, if you except those who dwell on our coasts, though they abound in number, build and inhabit villages rather than cities, and many of them live wild in the woods, infesting all the circumjacent country. But all the neighbouring nations, who had sided with the Celtiberians,

ns, were comprehended in this treaty ; on the e the Arevaci, Carpetani, Oretani, and other living on the banks of the Tagus ; on the o-de, near the Ebro, the Vascones, in whose y he built Gacchuris, as a perpetual monu- of his valour and exploits. Before, the Sp- called this city Illurcis. During the same ign Albinus, prætor of the further Spain, rout- enemy, and having killed 40,000 of them, d the Vaccei and Lusitanians. In the mean the consul Manlius, who had Gaul for his ce, finding it in perfect tranquillity, and no on either side of the Po on which to sound a for a triumph, if he did not pass the Alps, had ng desire to penetrate beyond that barrier. ably for his purpose the Istrians and Illyrians arms, though their incursions upon the lands allies, both by sea and land, had more the ap- ce of robberies than a regular war. These s, which were accustomed to robbing, were of continuing in quiet. They had both be- lt the Roman arms. The Illyrians first had sten defeated by them, even as long since as ys of Teuta their queen, whom the consuls malus and Albinus, after having with a fleet nd-army taken part of her dominions, had scr- sue for a peace on dishonourable terms, some before the second Punic war broke out. Not ster them, that is, forty-three years before the t time, the Istrians were vanquished by the s Asina and Rufus, and for the most part sub-

But afterwards their courage increasing in- tion as their numbers did, they returned to former course. Besides, their two kings were from restraining the outrages of their subjects; they encouraged and spirited them on. Gentius, Pleuratus, was then prince of the Illyrians. impetuous youth] armed his nation which he received in tranquillity from his father. It is

said, this exceedingly endeared him to his subjects, who were greedy of spoil. When the consul was deliberating with his council about making war on this prince; some declared, it should be entered upon immediately, without giving the enemy time to draw their forces together; and others were of opinion, that he should first ask the advice of the senate. However, the former carried it. Accordingly the consul left Aquileia, and incamped at the lake Timavus *, which lies near the sea. Thither also came the Roman admiral C. Furius with ten ships. He and L. Cornelius had been appointed to cruise in the Adriatic sea with twenty ships of war. Their station was Ancona, and Cornelius cruised from thence to the right as far as Tarentum, and Furius to the left as far as Aquileia. The latter's fleet were sent to the port nearest the confines of Istria with the store-ships and a great quantity of provisions. The consul followed with the legions, and incamped fifteen miles from the sea. Within a short time there was a great resort of traders to the port, and it supplied the camp with all manner of provisions. That this might be done with the greater safety, advanced guards were posted all round the camp, and on the side of Istria was a constant guard, consisting of a cohort of Placentines raised in haste, posted between the camp and the sea. That it might likewise serve for a guard to those who brought water from the river, M. Æbutius, tribune of the second legion, was ordered to join it with two companies. To guard the detachments that brought forage and wood, T. and C. Ælii were ordered out on the road to Aquileia with the third legion. On the same side, at the distance of a mile, were above 3000 Gauls incamped under the command of a petty prince named Carmelus.

CHAP. II. As soon as the Istrians saw the Romans incamp at Timavus, they posted themselves

* Timavo, a river of Carniola, falls into the Adriatic sea.

privately

tely behind a hill; and from thence followed all notions of the Roman army by cross-ways, using all occasions to fall on them; and in truth, had exact intelligence of all that passed both by land and sea. When they perceived the advanced state of the weak, and great numbers of them trafficking about their arms between the camp and the sea, without any escort from either, they at the same time attacked both the Placentine cohort, and the two companies of the second legion. The morning-fog screened them in this enterprise: but it being dispersed, the first rays of the sun, a kind of gloom removed, which, as usual, magnifying the objects, deceived the Romans, who imagined the enemy were more numerous than they really were. This deceived both guards so much, that they fled with precipitation to the camp, causing as great confusion there as that which they were in themselves.

For the fright had taken away their breath, they could neither tell why they fled, nor answer any question that was put to them: besides, a noise was heard at the gates, as if there had been no guards there to sustain the assault; and their voices over one another, in the dark, occasioned so much confusion, that they knew not whether the enemy were not already in their camp. No other noise was heard, but, TO SEA. Some single person calling out this word, in a moment it rung through the whole camp. As if it had been the signal for departure, at first a few soldiers, mostly armed, ran towards the port; then a greater number, and at last all the troops; nay, the consul himself, after having in vain used his utmost efforts to restrain their flight; for neither his orders, authority, nor intreaties, had any effect at last. None but M. Licinius Strabo, tribune of the third cohort, who was left with only three companies of Istrianians, entering the camp, which was in a great measure quite empty, marched on without meeting any

any body till they came to the general's quarters. There they fell upon this brave officer with his little corps, as he was animating and forming them. However, the battle was more bloody than could have been expected from so small a number, nor did it end till the tribune with all his soldiers were cut to pieces. After throwing down the general's tent and rifling what was in it, the enemy proceeded to the street which separated the officers quarters from those of the common soldiers, and the quæstors tent. Finding all kinds of provisions ready on the tables, and the beds spread, their king sat down to table, and began to feast. The rest, forgetting arms and the enemy, soon followed his example, and as they were not accustomed to so good cheer, or in such plenty, they greedily glutted themselves with victuals and wine.

CHAP. III. The Romans were then in a very different situation. They were in a consternation both by sea and land. The marines struck their tents, and hurried the provisions they had on the shore aboard the ships. The land-soldiers in great terror threw themselves into boats, and endeavoured to get to sea. The sailors, apprehending their boats would be overladen, endeavoured some to keep off the multitude, and others put off from the shore and stood out to sea. This occasioned a scuffle, which did not end without wounds and bloodshed, between the soldiers and sailors; till at length, by order of the consul, the whole fleet stood out to sea. Then he proceeded to separate the armed from the unarmed. Of so great an army he scarce found 1500 men that had arms, and few of the knights had brought their horses with them; all the rest were a deformed multitude, like sutlers and servants, and would certainly have fallen a prey, if the enemy had had any skill in making war. Then he dispatched an aid du camp to recall the third legion and the guard of Gauls. Then they began to move from all quarters to regain their camp, and wipe off their disgrace. The tribunes

tribunes of the third legion, ordered the men to throw down the forage and wood, and the centurions to mount all the oldest men two and two on the baggage-horses, and the knights to take each a young soldier behind him. They represented to them, "that it would be glorious for their legion to try by their valour to recover that camp, which the second legion had lost by their cowardice. It would be an easy enterprise, if they surprised the barbarians busied in rifling it. It might be re-taken in the same manner it had been taken." The soldiers heard this exhortation with great alacrity. The ensigns moved on apace, neither did the soldiers lag behind them. However, the consul, with the troops he had brought back from the port, arrived at the camp first. L. Atius, first tribune of the second legion, not only exhorted, but remonstrated to the soldiers, "that if the victorious Istrians had intended to keep the camp with the same arms by which they had taken it, they would have pursued them to the port as soon as they were masters of it, and then posted guards before the trenches. But it was more probable they lay overwhelmed with wine and sleep."

CHAP. IV. Immediately he ordered A. Bæculonius, his own ensign-bearer, a man of approved valour, to advance. He answered, that to forward the matter he would throw his ensign as far as the enemy, if they would only follow it. With that he applied his whole strength, and throwing it over the lines, was the first who entered the gate. T. and C. Ælii, tribunes of the third legion, arrived with their cavalry on the opposite side; and soon after those who followed on the carriage-beasts, and after them the consul with his whole army. The few Istrians who were not drunk took care to fly. The rest were put to the sword asleep. The Romans recovered every thing that belonged to them safe, except the meat and drink that had been consumed.

consumed. Even the sick soldiers, who had been left in the camp, no sooner perceived their companions within the lines, than they ran to their swords, and made a great slaughter. But C. Popilius Sabello, a knight, distinguished himself in particular. Being wounded in the foot and left behind, he killed by far the greatest number of enemies. About 8000 enemies were killed, but none taken prisoners; for the Romans were so full of rage and resentment, that they did not think of booty. However, the Istrian king made his escape, being taken by his men from table half-drunk, and mounted on a horse. The victors lost 237, a greater part of whom perished in the flight in the morning, than in recovering their camp.

CHAP. V. It happened by accident, that Cn. and L. Gavillii, two new planters of Aquileia, coming from thence with provisions, and ignorant of what had happened, had almost fallen into the hands of the Istrians, while in the Roman camp. However, they left their loads, and, flying back, spread the alarm not only at Aquileia, but in a few days at Rome, where it was reported, not only that the camp was taken after the troops had deserted it, which was true, but that the whole army was destroyed. In consequence, as usual on such alarms, levies were appointed to be made at Rome and all over Italy. Two Roman legions were raised, and they obtained 12,000 Latin foot with 500 horse. The consul Junius was ordered to go into Gaul, and obtain as many troops from each of the states of that province, as they could furnish. A decree was also passed, "That the prætor Nero should order the fourth legion, 4000 Latin foot with 250 horse, to rendezvous at Pisa, with which he should guard that province in the consul's absence; and that the prætor M. Titinius should order the first legion with an equal number of Latin foot and horse to assemble at Ariminum." Accordingly Nero

Nero set out in his warlike habiliments for the province of Pisa. Titinius, having detached C. Cassius a legionary tribune to command the troops at Ariminum, staid at Rome to make the levies. The consul Junius, having gone from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and having immediately procured auxiliaries from these states and the colonies, went to Aquileia. There being informed that the army was safe, he wrote to Rome to lay aside their fears, and having dismissed the Gallic auxiliaries, went and joined his colleague. This unexpected news gave great joy at Rome, where they immediately laid aside the levies. Such as had taken the military oath were acquitted of it, and the army at Ariminum, which began to be afflicted with the plague, was sent home. The Istrians who were encamped near the consul with numerous forces, slipped away each to his own city, as soon as they heard that the other consul was arrived with a new army. The consuls led their troops into winter-quarters at Aquileia.

CHAP. VI. The alarm about the Istrian war having subsided, the senate ordered the consuls to agree between themselves which of them should come to Rome, and preside at the elections. A. Licinius Nerva and C. Papirius Turdus, two plebeian tribunes, inveighed bitterly in their speeches against Manlius in his absence. The consuls had already been appointed to continue in their command another year; but these tribunes proposed a bill to the people for denying Manlius that honour, and for bringing him to his trial as soon as he quitted his office. Their colleague Q. Ælius interposed, and with hard struggling prevailed to have the bill thrown out. About the same time Gracchus and Albinus returned from Spain. The prætor M. Titinius appointed the senate to meet in the temple of Bellona, to hear the detail of their exploits, and give them an opportunity to demand the honours due

due to them, and that thanks should be returned to the gods. The prætor T. Æbutius also about that time sent his son with letters to inform the senate of a great insurrection in Sardinia. That the Illyrians, in conjunction with the Balari *, had disturbed the tranquillity of the province; nor was he able to make head against them, his army having been extremely weakened by the plague. The Sardinian deputies brought the same account, conjuring the senate at least to send relief to their towns, for their lands were already miserably ruined. This deputation, and every thing relating to Sardinia, was referred to the new magistrates. A deputation also arrived from the Lycians, with as lamentable complaints of the cruelty of the Rhodians, under whose dominion they had been put by L. Scipio. They said, “ they had been subject to Antiochus ; “ but the yoke of that monarch was glorious li-
“ berty in comparison of their present oppressions.
“ Not only their whole nation was oppressed, but in-
“ dividuals suffered the severest hardships. Their
“ lawful wives and daughters were abused. All
“ kinds of severity were exercised on their persons,
“ and, what was still more intolerable, their repu-
“ tations blasted and defamed. These outrages
“ were openly committed, and every opportunity
“ taken of violating their rights ; that no appear-
“ ance might remain of any difference between them
“ and slaves purchased with money.” This speech
moved the Fathers, who gave the Lycians letters
to the Rhodians : “ When they put the Lycians
“ under subjection to the Rhodians, they did not in-
“ tend to make them their slaves, or that any other
“ free-born persons should be enslaved by any one ;
“ but while the Lycians were under the jurisdiction
“ and protection of the Rhodians, they were equal-
“ ly allies of and subject to Rome.”

CHAP. VII. Then the two prætors from Spain

* Near Valeria.

triumphed

triumphed one after another ; Gracchus for the Celiberians and their allies, and Albinus for the Luitanians and other people of the further province. In the procession of the former were carried 40,000 pound weight of silver, and in that of the latter 20,000. They both gave twenty-five denarii to each foot-soldier, double to a centurion, and triple to a knight, and as much to the allies as to Roman citizens. About the same time the consul Junius returned from Istria to preside in the comitia. The tribunes Papirius and Licinius, after teasing him with questions about the events in Istria, at last brought him before an assembly of the people. He answered, that he had been only eleven days in that province, and they themselves had heard by report, as well as he, what had happened in his absence. Then they proceeded to ask, " Why does not Manlius rather come to the city, to give the Roman people his reasons for quitting his proper province Gaul which fell to him by lot, and entering Istria ? When did the senate or Roman people give him commission to make that war ? But how ! this war, which was undertaken by the advice of private men, has been prosecuted with courage and prudence ! Alas ! it is hard to determine, whether it was undertaken more irregularly, or more imprudently carried on. Two of our advanced guards were surprised by the enemy, and the Roman camp, with all the horse and foot in it, taken. All the rest without arms were routed, and, in particular, the consul fled to the sea and their ships. Since he has refused to justify his conduct when consul, he shall when a private person."

CHAP. VIII. After this the elections were held, and C. Claudius Pulcher and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day P. Aelius Tubero a second time, C. Quintius Flamininus, C. Numisius, C. Mummius, Cn. Corn. Scipio, and C. Valerius

Valerius Lævinus were elected prætors. Tubero got the jurisdiction over citizens ; Flamininus that over foreigners ; Numisius, Sicily ; and Mummius, Sardinia : but the latter, on account of the powerful insurrection in it, was made a consular province. Gracchus got it by lot, and Pulcher got Istria. Gaul was divided into two provinces, for which Scipio and Lævinus drew lots. On the 15th of March, when the consuls entered on their provinces, mention was only made in the senate of the provinces of Sardinia and Istria, and the people who had kindled the war there. But next day, the Sardinian deputies, whose cause had been referred to the new magistrates, and L. Minucius Thermus, who had served as lieutenant-general under the consul Manlius in Istria, had audience of the senate. They informed the senate, how dangerous the war in these provinces was. The senate also was moved by deputies from their allies the Latins, who after having teased the consuls and censors of the former year, at length obtained an audience. The sum of their complaints was, " That their citizens that had been inrolled at Rome had most of them removed to reside there. " If this was suffered, in a few more lustra their cities would be abandoned, their lands become desert, and they would not be able to furnish their contingent of troops." The Samnites and Peligni complained, " That 4000 of their families had removed to Fregellæ, and yet the quota of troops to be furnished by them was not lessened." People had fallen on two fraudulent expedients thus to change their residence at pleasure. By a law, privilege was granted to such Latins as should leave their children at home, to come and be admitted denizens of Rome. By abusing this indulgence some injured the allies, and others the Romans. For those who accepted it, instead of leaving their children at home, sold them for slaves to certain Romans in whom they could confide, on condition that they

they should be made free, and so become enfranchised citizens: and those who had no children to leave behind them, came and settled at Rome. But in process of time, without regard to law or children, they removed to Rome, and got themselves inrolled there. To prevent this for the future, the deputies petitioned the Fathers, “to oblige these allies to return to their states, and make a law, that none should under any pretext change his residence, or make over himself or children to others; and that whoever should by these fraudulent methods obtain the freedom of Rome, should not be counted a Roman citizen.”

C H A P. IX. The senate granted their request. Then Istria and Sardinia, the seats of the war, were appointed to be the consular provinces. For Sardinia, orders were given to levy two Roman legions, consisting each of 5200 foot and 300 horse, with 12,000 foot and 600 horse from the Latins; besides ten quinqueremes, to be taken out of what docks the consul pleased. The same number of horse and foot were appointed for Istria. The consuls were ordered to send one legion and 300 horse, with 5000 foot and 250 horse belonging to the allies, to Titinius in Spain. Before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, reports spread of many prodigies. In the territory of Crustuminum, a stone fell from the heavens into the lake of Mars. A snake with four feet appeared: at Capua many houses were struck with lightning, which also set two ships on fire at Puteoli: besides, during these reports, a wolf being hunted into Rome, entered at the Colline gate, and, pursued by a vast mob of people, escaped safe out at the Esquiline. To expiate these prodigies, the consuls offered the larger sacrifices, and ordered a solemn procession to all the shrines for one day. When the sacrifices were completed, the consuls drew lots for their provinces; Pulcher got Istria, and Gracchus Sardinia. After that the former pu-

blished a decree of the senate in favour of the allies, " that all the Latins with their parents, who had been inrolled in the census at Rome since the censorship of M. Claudius and T. Quinctius, should return to their own cities, before the first day of November." The prætor Mummius was ordered to inquire after those who should not comply with this decree. To this edict and law published by the consul, the senate added the following decree: " That every dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or prætor, who should be present at the manumissions in the forum, should oblige the person who presented the slave to be made free, to swear that he had no intention of taking any citizen from his own state. And that they should not allow any one who should refuse this oath, to enfranchise his slave." The execution of this decree was afterwards committed to the consul Pulcher.

CHAP. X. While these things passed at Rome, M. Junius and A. Albinus, consuls of the preceding year, who had wintered at Aquileia, entered the Istrian territories with their army early in the spring. While they spread fire and sword every where, the Istrians ran to arms rather through motives of grief and rage, to see their lands thus spoiled, than from any hopes of being strong enough to cope with them. All the youth of their country assembled, and this rash and tumultuary army made a vigorous push at first, but did not follow it out. About 4000 of them were killed, and the rest quitting the field, dispersed into their own cities. They first sent deputies to the Roman camp to beg a peace, and then hostages, as they were ordered. When this news reached Rome by letters from the proconsuls, the consul Claudius, apprehending that this affair might deprive him of his province and the command of an army, left the city in the night without having made the usual vows, without the military robe or lictors, apprising only his colleague, which was his duty, and rode post

post to Istria. If his journey was rash and precipitate, his behaviour in his province was still more indiscreet. Having assembled the army, he in the first place upbraided Manlius with his cowardly flight from his camp, which severely mortified the troops who had fled first. Then he reproached Junius with making himself an accomplice in his colleague's disgraceful conduct, and concluded with ordering them both to quit the province. The soldiers answering, that they would acknowledge his authority as consul when he set out for his province according to ancient custom, after having made the solemn vows in the Capitol, dressed in his military robe and attended by his lictors ; he was transported with fury, and calling for Manlius's quæstor, ordered him to bring chains, threatening to send both the generals bound to Rome. The quæstor shewed no regard to his orders, and, surrounded by the whole army who avowedly took part with their commanders and shewed their ill-will to the consul, took courage to disobey him. At last the consul, wearied with their opposition, and not able to bear the railing, not only of individuals, but of the whole army, returned to Aquileia, on board the same vessel in which he came. Then he wrote to his colleague to order that part of the new levies which were appointed for Istria, to come to Aquileia, in order that when he should arrive at Rome, and have made the usual vows in the Capitol, nothing might detain him there. His colleague complied, and very obligingly appointed them to repair thither within as short a day as possible. Claudio followed his letters directly. On his arrival he informed an assembly of the people of what had passed between him and the two proconsuls, and staying but three days to perform the usual vows, he set out in his military robe, attended by his lictors, making as much expedition in his second journey as he had done in the first.

CHAP. XI. The proconsuls had already for some days

days attacked the city of Nesattium *, in which the chief lords of Istria, with their king Epulo, had shut themselves up. But Claudius arriving with the new legions dismissed the old generals and army, and invested the place himself, intending to take it by his machines. He spent several days in turning the course of a river, which running close under the walls, prevented his attacks, and supplied the besiegers with water. The cutting off the water, as if it had been a miracle, so terrified the barbarians, that forgetting all thoughts of peace, they fell to massacring their wives and children; and that the enemy might be spectators of this horrid scene, they openly cut their throats on the walls, and then threw the dead bodies over. In midst of the screams of women and children, and this dreadful execution, the Romans scaled the walls and entered the town. As soon as the king perceived, by the alarm of those who fled, that the enemies were masters of it, he fell upon his sword, to prevent his being taken alive. The rest were all either taken or killed. Then the consul took by storm two other cities, Mutila and Faveria †. Considering the poverty of the country, the booty exceeded their expectations, and was all granted to the soldiers. 5632 prisoners were sold by auction. The authors of the war were scourged and beheaded. The taking these three towns and the death of their king restored tranquillity to Istria, all the people of which submitted and gave hostages for their fidelity. As the Istrian war was ended, the Ligurians begun to deliberate about taking up arms.

CHAP. XII. The proconsul Nero, prætor of the preceding year, had been sent to command one legion at Pisa. He sent letters to inform the senate of their motions. As Gracchus had departed for Sardinia, the Fathers ordered these letters to be sent to the consul Claudius, with orders, since he had no-

* On the east part of Istria, where now stands Castel Nuova.

† the situation of both unknown.

thing to do in Istria, to march against the Ligurians if he should think it proper. At the same time his account of his success in Istria arriving, a supplication was appointed for three days. The other consul Gracchus was victorious in Sardinia. He led his army into the territories of the Ilians, to whom the Balari had sent a very numerous reinforcement. He fought a pitched battle with them, routed them, and took their camp, after killing 12,000 on the spot. Next day he gathered together the arms in a heap, and burnt them as a sacrifice to Vulcan. After that he put his victorious troops into winter-quarters among the allies. The consul Claudio, having received Nero's letters with the senate's orders, left Istria, and marched against the Ligurians. The enemy were incamped in a plain near the river Scultenna *. There they fought a pitched battle, wherein they lost 15,000 men, besides above 700 taken prisoners in the battle or in the camp, which was also taken with 51 standards. The rest fled to the mountains, and the consul, without seeing any enemy, ravaged the champaign country. Claudio being thus victorious over two nations in one year, returned to Rome, leaving two provinces in tranquillity, a thing which had seldom happened.

CHAP. XIII. This year was full of prodigies. In Crustumino, a fowl called sangualis † pecked a hole in a sacred stone with its bill; in Campania an ox spoke: at Syracuse, a bull who had strayed from the herd in the field, leaped a brazen statue of a cow in the city. At Crustumino the prodigy was expiated by a supplication in the same place. The ox that spoke at Campania, was kept at the public charge. The haruspices ordered supplications to particular gods to expiate the prodigy at Syracuse. The pontifex M. Claudio Marcellus, who had been both consul and

* Now Panaro, dividing the territories of Bologna and Modena, and then falling into the Po.

† Less than an eagle, and of a brown colour.

censor, died this year. His son was chosen to succeed him. The same year a colony of 2000 Romans was settled at Luna, by P. Aelius, L. Aegilius, and Cn. Cicinius. Each planter had 50*½* acres of land, which had been taken from the Ligurians, but had formerly belonged to the Etrurians. The consul Claudius arrived at Rome, and having given the senate a detail of his exploits in Istria and Liguria, they granted him a triumph on his request. He triumphed during his magistracy for two nations at once. In the procession were carried 307,000 denarii, with 85,702 half-denarii. He gave each foot-soldier 15 denarii, double to a centurion, and triple to a knight. But he gave the allies only half in proportion, for which reason they followed his chariot silent and discontented.

CHAP. XIV. During this solemnity, the Ligurians, seeing the consular array led to Rome, and the legion under Claudius at Pisa disbanded, shook off all fear, and appointing their army to rendezvous privately, passed the mountains by by-ways, and falling down upon the champaign country, ravaged the lands of Modena, and surprised the colony itself. As soon as this news reached Rome, the senate ordered Claudius to hold the comitia as soon as possible, and when they were over, to return to the province, and retake the colony. The order was quickly obeyed, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio and Q. Petilius Spurinus were chosen consuls. Then M. Popillius Laenias, P. Licinius Crassus, M. Cornelius Scipio, L. Papirius Maso, M. Aburius, and L. Aquilius Gallus, were elected praetors. Claudius was continued in command of the province of Gaul for another year, and was ordered, to prevent the Istrians from following the precedent set them by the Ligurians, and to send into that country the Latins whom he had withdrawn for the sake of attending his triumph. The new consuls entered upon their office, and each sacrificed an ox to Jupiter on the first day, according

according to custom. No liver was found in Petilius's victim ; which when he reported to the senate, they ordered him to repeat the sacrifice. After this the senate was moved to determine the consular provinces, and they appointed Pisa and Liguria, ordering him to whose lot Pisa should fall, to return to Rome to hold the elections. They added another decree, empowering them to levy two new legions and 300 horse, with 10,000 foot and 600 horse from the Latins. Nero was continued in command till the consul should arrive at Pisa.

CHAP. XV. While the senate was employed in these deliberations, Cn. Cornelius was called out of the house by a public messenger. Soon after he returned with confusion in his face, and told the Fathers, that when the bowels of the victim he had sacrificed were boiled, the liver had turned to water ; that not believing the sacrificer who told him so, he had ordered the water to be poured out of the pot, where he saw the other entrails whole and sound, but the liver consumed in an incredible manner. The Fathers were exceedingly terrified at this prodigy, when the other consul informed them, that having sacrificed three oxen successively, the livers of them all wanted the head. Upon this the senate ordered him to multiply the larger sacrifices till the gods were appeased. It is said all the other deities, except the goddess Health, declared themselves favourable to Petilius. Cornelius got Pisa, and Petilius Liguria by lot. Of the prætors, Mæso got the jurisdiction over citizens ; Aburius, that over foreigners ; Scipio, further Spain ; and Gallus, Sicily. The other two petitioned not be sent into any province, and in particular Lænas against going to Sardinia ; because the senate had sent Græchus, with Æbutius as his assistant, to restore the tranquillity of that province : neither was it good to interrupt designs once set on foot, the salutary effects whereof depended on perseverance in the execution. For between the former

mer prætor's delivering up the province, and its being received by the new who must first be instructed in the state of it, before he can execute any thing, opportunities of performing excellent services are frequently lost. Popillius's excuse was sustained. Crassus pleaded his being under an obligation to perform some annual sacrifices. Hither Spain had fallen to his lot, and he was ordered either to repair to it, or take his oath before the assembly, that he was necessarily detained for the performance of these sacrifices. This resolution in regard to Crassus, made Scipio request that they would allow him to take his oath, that he could not for the same reason go to his province of farther Spain. Both prætors took the same oath. In consequence M. Titinius and T. Fonteius were ordered to continue there in quality of pro-consuls, and to recruit their armies the senate sent 3000 Roman foot and 200 horse, with 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry belonging to the Latins.

CHAP. XVI. The feriæ Latinæ were celebrated before the fifth of May. But it was looked on as ominous, that in sacrificing one of the victims, the magistrate of Lanuvium had omitted in the prayer, "For the prosperity of the Roman people." This affair was laid before the senate, who referred it to the college of priests, who ordered that for that defect the festival should be repeated, and that the Lanuvians, who had been the occasion of it, should furnish the victims. Another incident was looked on as ominous; the consul Cornelius, on his return from the Alban mount, fell down in an apoplectic fit, and being seized with a palsey, went to the baths at Cumæ, where the disease increasing he soon died. His corpse was brought to Rome, and buried in great state. His colleague, Petilius, was ordered to call an assembly, to elect another in his room, as soon as the auspices would permit, and to publish the celebration of the feriæ Latinæ. He appointed the comitia to meet on the third of August, and the festival on the eleventh.

eleventh. Besides, the prodigies reported immediately after filled mens minds with superstitious fears. At Tusculum a great flame had been seen in the sky: at Gabii the temple of Apollo with many private houses, and at Graviseæ the town-wall and one of the gates, were struck with lightning. The Fathers ordered the priests to expiate these in what manner they pleased. While necessary acts of religion detained both consuls, and then the death of one, the new election, and renewing the feriæ Latinæ, detained the other, C. Claudius led his army to Modena, which the Ligurians had taken in the preceding year. He had not been before it three days when he drove out the enemy, and restored it to its own inhabitants. He killed 8000 of the enemy within the walls, and immediately dispatched letters to Rome, wherein he not only gave an account of the victory, but boasted that he had not left the Romans an enemy on this side the Alps, and that he had taken as much land, as might be distributed to many thousand planters.

CHAP. XVII. About the same time Gracchus by several successful battles quite reduced the Sardinians. He killed 15,000 of them. All the people of that island which had revolted, returned to their obedience, and had double the former tribute imposed on them; the rest paid the usual tribute of corn. Having established the tranquillity of the province, and received 230 hostages from the states of the island in general, he sent messengers to Rome, to give an account of his exploits, and to demand that thanks should be returned to the immortal gods for his success, and that leave might be granted him to bring back his army when he left the province. The Fathers gave these messengers audience in the temple of Apollo, and appointed a supplication for two days, ordering the consuls to offer the larger sacrifices. They likewise continued Gracchus in his province and command of the troops for another year. Then the election of another consul, which had been appointed to be held
before

before the third of Agust, came on, and ended the same day. Petillius got for his colleague M. Valerius Lævinus, who entered on his office immediately. The latter longed impatiently for a province to act in, when, very seasonably for his gratification, advice arrived that the Ligurians were in arms. As soon as he heard the letters, he dressed himself in his military robe on the fifth of August, and taking the opportunity of the present alarm, ordered the third legion to set out to join C. Claudius in Gaul. He also ordered the two admirals to sail with their fleet to Pisa, from whence they were to appear on the coast of Liguria to terrify the enemy with a descent. The consul Petillius likewise fixed a day for his army to rendezvous at the same place. The proconsul Claudius, hearing of the recent rebellion, collected soldiers in haste, besides the troops he had at Parma, and marched to the confines of Liguria.

CHAP. XVIII. The enemy, upon the arrival of Claudius, who they remembered had lately defeated them at the river Scultenna, intending to defend themselves rather by advantageous posts than force of arms against that power which they had tried to their cost, seized the two mounts Letum and Balista, round which they threw a trench. However 1500 of them, who lagged in the retreat, were surprised and cut to pieces. The rest kept upon the mountains, and not even forgetting their natural ferocity in their present dread, vented their fury on the prisoners they took at Modena, whom they massacred to a man; nay, brought the cattle they had driven off into their temples, where, more properly speaking, they butchered rather than sacrificed them to their gods. Being thus satiated with blood of animals, they hung up on their walls every inanimate thing they had, viz. great quantities of all sorts of implements, which had been made rather for use than ornament. Petillius, fearing lest the war should be terminated in his absence, wrote to Claudius to bring his army into Gaul, for
he

he would wait for him in the plain of Macri *. Upon receipt of the letters, he decamped from Liguria, and delivered up the army to the consul in that plain. Within a few days the other consul Valerius arrived there also. Before they set out, they divided their forces, and both together reviewed the two armies. After that, as they did not chuse to attack the enemy in the same place, they cast lots for the routes they should take. It is certain Valerius had a good lot, because he drew it in a temple. Petillius committed an error in not doing the same, and the badness of his lot the augurs said was owing to his being without a consecrated place when he put the lot into a casket, and its being afterwards carried into the temple. Then they separated. Petillius incamped before the ridge which joins mount Letum to Balista. There while he was haranguing his troops, it is said he foretold his death by this ambiguous expression, "This day I shall take Letum †." He attacked the mountains in two different places. The division which he headed himself forced the post with bravery. But the enemy repulsed the other. Upon this the consul galloped thither to reinstate the attack. Indeed he rallied his men; but as he was riding before the ranks, he was run through with a random javelin, and fell dead. However the enemy did not know it was the general, and the few of his own men who saw it, industriously concealed it, being sensible the victory depended upon it. The rest of the multitude, horse and foot, even without a general, forced the hill, and routed the enemy. They killed about 5000 of them, with the loss only of fifty-two on their own side. Besides this event being the consequence of a sad presage, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say, that the auspices were unfavourable, which the consul himself was not ignorant of. C. Valerius, hearing [of the death of his colleague, marched a-

* Now Val de Montirone, near the river Secchia,

† The word in Latin signifies death,

gainst the Ligurians. Having joined the forces, which, under the auspices of his colleague, had dislodged the enemy, he also surrounded and gave them a signal overthrow, so as sufficiently to appease the manes of his colleague. After that he returned to Rome, and gave the senate, assembled in the temple of Bellona, a detail of his own and Petillius's exploits, demanding a triumph for himself, and the honours due to his dead colleague. A supplication was appointed for two days, and a triumph granted to him. They also ordered the legion which, though it did not desert Petillius, yet did not defend him with sufficient care and bravery, to be severely cashiered ; and the senate ordered, that those soldiers who had not screened him with their own bodies, should be deprived of a year's pay. A few days after Valerius entered the city in triumph for the Ligurians. Then a motion was made for assembling the tribes to elect consuls and praetors. This occasioned a warm debate in the senate, as of three consuls chosen that year, only Valerius survived, and he not chosen at the beginning of the year, but in room of Scipio, who died during his magistracy. But persons learned in religion and common law insisted, that since both the ordinary consuls of the year had died, the one of a disease, and the other in battle, a surrogate consul could not preside at the comitia. [As the college of priests declared themselves of the same opinion, the state returned to an interregnum. The interrex held the elections, wherein P. Mucius Scævola, and M. Æmilius Lepidus a second time, were raised to the consulate. Next day C. Popilius Lænas, T. Annius Luscus, C. Memmius Gallus, C. Cluvius Saxula, L. Cornelius Sylla, and Ap. Claudius Centho, were chosen praetors. Then the provinces were determined by lot. The consular were Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria. Lepidus got the former, and Mucius the latter. Saxula got the jurisdiction over citizens ; Luscus that over foreigners ; Lænas, Sicily ; Gallus, hither Spain ;

Spain; Sylla, Sardinia; and Centho, farther Spain. Since ancient authors are silent, as to the Roman and Latin troops assigned to each of them, it would be in vain to attempt ascertaining them. But we may be very certain, that before they set out for their provinces, the senate ordered the Sybilline books to be consulted for means to conciliate the favour of the gods, and that, by the direction of the decemvirs, the consuls offered sacrifices, and appointed supplications. For a plague raged among the people, but more among the cattle, and continued for the succeeding year. Their carcases lay up and down in the fields and city, and it is said that even the vultures, who are greedy of such food, would neither touch or eat of them, the strong smell of their putrefied entrails had so corrupted the air and increased the infection. After the feriae Latinae and other usual rites celebrated at the departure of consuls, the present ones set out in their military robes for their provinces. Lepidus in a short time, and with little trouble, routed the Boii, and the other Gaus about the Po. Then he led his troops to restrain the Ligurians behind him, that they might not join those on the sea-coast against his colleague Mucius.]

CHAP. XIX. On this side the Apennines dwelt the Garuli, Lapicini, and Hercates*; on the other the Briniates. Near the river Audena † Mucius attacked all those who had ravaged Luna and Pisa, and having forced them to submit, disarmed them. For these advantages gained under the conduct and auspices of both consuls in Gaul and Liguria, the senate decreed a supplication for three days, and forty large sacrifices. Thus the insurrections of the Gauls and Ligurians, which had broke out in the beginning of this year, were quelled without great difficulty, and in a short time. But now Rome became anxious about a Macedonian war, when they saw Perses excited dissensions between the Dardans and

* All near the springs of Lavagna.

VOL. VIII.

P

† Naw La Ula.

Baltarnæ.

Bastarnæ. Besides the deputies that had been sent to observe what passed in Macedonia, returned with advice that hostilities were already commenced in Dardania. At the same time arrived ambassadors to justify Perses, who declared he had neither called in the Bastarnæ, nor countenanced them in any thing they did. The senate would neither declare him guilty nor accuse him: they only ordered his deputies to admonish him to be extremely cautious of observing inviolably the treaty, which he would have it thought subsisted between him and the Romans. The Dardans, seeing the Bastarnæ were so far from quitting their country, as they had expected, that they grew every day more oppressive, relying on the aid of the neighbouring Thracians and Scordisci, thought their best course would be to make a daring though rash attempt; accordingly they all ran to arms, and met at the city nearest to the camp of the Bastarnæ. It was then winter, and they purposely chose that season, expecting the Thracians and Scordisci would be then retired to their own countries. As soon as they got intelligence, that they were gone, and the Bastarnæ left alone, they divided their force into two bodies, the one to attack them openly, and the other to march by by-ways and fall on their rear. But before the latter could get behind the enemy, the battle was over; the Dardans were defeated, and driven to their town, which was near twelve miles from the enemy's camp. The conquerors immediately invested the town, not doubting but next day the Dardans would surrender through fear, or they would take it by storm. In the mean time, the other body of Dardans, which had marched round to attack the enemy in rear, and were ignorant of the defeat of their other division, finding the camp of the Bastarnæ without guards [and open, hesitated a while for fear of an ambush. But then entering it without resistance, they were on the point of rifling it, when they received advice of the danger their own people
were

were in ; so they thought it sufficient to set it and all that was in it on fire, that they might not be detained from flying to the relief of the besieged city. The Bastarnæ saw at once their camp on fire, and the enemy ready to fall on their rear. On one side they considered, that they were stript of the provisions which they had conveyed from the neighbouring country to serve them a long time ; on the other they suspected Perses, who had called them in, of treachery. In consequence they began to deliberate about flight rather than fighting. The remembrance of the signal judgment of the gods, in the late overthrow of their countrymen, inclined them to this resolution. Accordingly, as they had plundered all the adjacent country, they hastened to more remote places in quest of provisions. All the plain was covered with their multitude, their women and children equalling the number of armed men. They dispersed without any preconcerted or certain route, but to whatever place fear and paternal affection led each in hopes of supplying the wants of his indigent family, aiming at nothing but the safety of himself and those who belonged to him. The only thing they agreed in was, to retire to their native country. The Dardans, conscious of the inequality of their strength, did not pursue them vigorously, especially since by this voluntary retreat out of their country they had obtained the end of their taking up arms. In a few days the Bastarnæ, fatigued with want and travelling, arrived on the banks of the Ister. The sight of their native country gave them inexpressible pleasure. The ice on the river being thicker and harder than usual at that season and in that cold climate, they flattered themselves with an easy passage without the help of boats. But all crowding upon it at once, men and beasts in a body, it proved too weak to bear so immense a weight, and falling in in the middle, this vast multitude was swallowed up in a moment and perished miserably. Some anticipate this misfortune of the Bastarnæ, saying,

ing, that arriving on the banks of the Ister on their first leaving their native soil, they all perished with their wives and children in attempting to pass it. But the depuration the Dardans sent to Rome to beg aid against them, clearly evinces, that they actually passed it, and penetrated as far as the nearest part of Thrace. Some again say, that Perse, diffident of their assistance, conspired with the Dardans to destroy them, nay think he sent them aid for that purpose. It is uncertain whether the advice of their fate gave him joy or grief; he was so differently actuated by avarice, hope, fraud, and fear. As he could not think of paying the money he had stipulated with those barbarians to draw them into Thrace, and was afraid, if he refused, they would fall on him, he undoubtedly thought it would be a great advantage to get rid of them. Besides, he flattered himself with being easily able, if they should once be removed far out of the way, to clear himself from the suspicions the Romans entertained of his having sent for them, and with maintaining from thenceforth a firm amity with that powerful people, with the hopes of which he had suffered Marcius to soothe him. But when he saw the war inevitable, terrified with the greatness of the preparations and the Roman forces, he began to be diffident of himself. Then he lamented the loss of so considerable an accession of strength, and began to fear that the Dardans, perpetual enemies to Macedonia, now they were freed from the curb of those barbarians, would fall on the back of his dominions, while the Romans employed him on the opposite side. In consequence he began to think of making new leagues and associations with the neighbouring kings and states in order to avert these impending calamities, but too late; neither had he either application or steadiness sufficient to accomplish so necessary a plan. These things passed in Macedonia towards the close of winter.

CHAP. XX. About this time Antiochus Epiphanes,

nes, son of Antiochus the Great, succeeded to the crown of Syria on the death of his brother Seleucus. For the latter, who was Antiochus's son, and weakened by the misfortunes of his father, after an idle reign of twelve years, distinguished by no remarkable exploit, recalled his brother into Syria, sending to Rome in his stead his own son Demetrius. But Antiochus had scarce reached Athens on his return, when Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus. This courtier, though not of the royal blood, would have usurped the crown, but was hindered by Eumenes and Attalus, who received Antiochus with the greatest civility, aided him in his voyage to Syria, and placed him on the throne. But I will not determine, whether their civility to the new king is to be attributed to the recommendation of the Romans, or their own inclination. For some pretend to say, that the Romans took umbrage at it, and it created jealousies between them. Antiochus having by their assistance got the crown and subdued the nations, rendered himself so gracious by his unexpected arrival, that he got the surname of ILLUSTRIOS [Epiphanes], because when strangers had usurped the sovereignty, he asserted his right to the throne of his ancestors, and like a benign star shone forth to the good and consolation of his subjects. Having without opposition got possession of Syria, and the further provinces of Asia Major, even beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, he made a firm alliance with Eumenes by treaty, and then making war on Artaxias king of Armenia, took him prisoner in battle. But as monarchs, who know no law but their own wills, generally plunge into all kinds of tyranny, and the dispositions of the populace, especially the Syrians, is very variable, their affection to their present king did not continue long. Nay, on the contrary, him whom they admired so much as in distinction to give him a glorious title, they soon called Epimanes, and instead of Illustrious sur-

named him the MADMAN. And in truth, after having signalised the beginning of his reign, as we have observed, he fell into a new course of life so unusual to monarchs, that he lived like a subject and private person, than a king, or like the chief man in a petty republic. We cannot assign his motives to this behaviour, whether it was to conciliate the affections of his subjects by acts of popularity, or gain favour with the Romans by imitating their republican manners, or, what was more probably the only cause of it, his natural levity of temper. For the most part he secretly, and without the knowledge of his courtiers, slipped out of the palace, and traversed the city with two or three attendants, sometimes running into the shops of the engravers and designers, affecting to talk learnedly of their arts. Sometimes without any inducement he would enter into familiar conversations with the meanest persons he met ; go into ordinaries and taverns, and eat and drink with the most abject stranger. After this, if he heard of any meeting of young men during the night or day to make merry, he would drop in amongst them all of a sudden with a cup and band of music, and partake of their entertainment, insomuch that the greatest part, terrified by this unexpected guest, would slip away, and others, astonished at the novelty of the thing, would sit mute, while he seemed pleased with earthen dishes and dissonant music amidst their cups. It is certain he often went into the public baths with the mob, and distributed among them boxes of exquisite and costly perfumes and ointments. Then, instead of his royal robes, he would dress himself in a gown, such as the candidates for offices at Rome wore, and go through the forum saluting his meanest subject, and begging his intercessions for the ædileship, and sometimes the praetorship, and at last when he had obtained their suffrages, after the Roman] manner, administer justice and determine the most

most trivial suits from a curule chair. His mind was so unsettled, and wandered so through all kinds of life, that neither he himself nor any one else could form a just idea of him. He would not speak to his courtiers, and would smile familiarly to those he was scarce acquainted with. His choice of the objects of his munificence, rendered both him and them subjects of derision. To persons of distinction and such as valued themselves at a high rate, he would make childish presents, sugar-plumbs and toys to divert them, while he loaded with riches those who expected nothing. Some imagined he did not know his own mind. Some thought he assumed the character of a fool on purpose, while others roundly affirmed he was mad. However he shewed a real princely mind by the donations he made to cities and the worship of the gods. He promised the Megalopolitans in Arcadia to build a wall round their city, and actually paid them the greatest part of the money to be laid out in that work. He presented the Cyzicans with a whole service of gold plate, for the use of their magistrates, and such as had the honour to be admitted to their public entertainments. As to the Rhodians, I cannot say with what particular favour he distinguished them, so liberal was he to them in all respects. The temple he laid the foundation of at Athens to Jupiter Olympius, so suitable to the majesty of that deity, that the like is not in the whole world, is a sufficient proof, if there was no other, of his munificence towards the gods. But besides he built superb altars at Delos, and adorned them with exquisite statues. He likewise built an august temple at Antioch to Jupiter Capitolinus, whose roof was not only of gold, but all the walls covered with plates of the same metal. He also promised many other things of a like nature to other places, but did not reign long enough to accomplish them. He also far excelled the preceding kings in the grandeur and magnificence of all kinds

kinds of shows and plays ; and in those celebrated after the Macedonian manner, by the abundance of Greek actors. He exhibited a combat of gladiators after the Roman manner, but his people being unaccustomed to a diversion of that kind, were at first rather terrified than delighted with it. Yet by frequently repeating them, sometimes suffering the combatants to wound one another, and sometimes even without shedding blood, the spectators became familiarised and delighted with them, and they animated many of the youth to practise fencing. By this means, he, who used to purchase gladiators from Rome at a vast expense, [could now procure them in his own dominions with their own consent, and they offered their service voluntarily for a small reward. But though perhaps these were manly diversions in themselves, yet the pompous review of the army representing a battle, and the entertainments, given the people with great profusion, that followed them, were rendered contemptible by his acts of buffoonery. As he had sent for the most celebrated actors in the world, and invited all the principal men of Greece and Asia to this uncommon shew, whether one considers the apparatus of the games, the number of men and horses at the review glittering in purple, silver, gold, and precious stones, or the entertainment served out with the greatest profusion of all kinds of exquisite and delicious dishes, it will be allowed that it far excelled every thing of the kind exhibited by former kings for many ages. But the ludicrous disposition of the whole, which he made in person, was quite shameful and unworthy of a king. For he rode to and fro through the procession on a small gelding, ordering some to march, and others to halt in such a manner, as rendered the review a perfect huddled tumult, without the least order or regularity of a disciplined army. As to the entertainment, he sometimes sat by one, sometimes by another, without observing any distinction ; and at

at other times would lie down flat on his back. Then starting up all of a sudden, he would go round the company, and standing p^ridge all who drank to him on every side. At length, after the carousing had continued very late, and many of the guests had retired after supper; he was introduced by the actors, rather wrapped than dressed in a linen robe, and forgetting all decency or regard to the company, as if he had been roused by the harmony of the music, suddenly jumped up naked, and danced with buffoons, making such ridiculous motions, that all the company retired blushing. As often as those who had assembled from all places, reflected on the grand apparatus and magnificence of the show in every respect, they could not help admiring the opulence of the monarch and his kingdom: but when they considered the king himself and his froward temper, they could not conceive how such monstrous and mean vices could harbour in a breast replete with many illustrious virtues, and a princely mind. But it is neither worth the while, nor easy to paint in words his folly and mad profusion. However let me add, that by setting no bounds to himself in riotously or rather madly squandering without end the tributes, customs, and vast revenues of this large and flourishing kingdom, he so exhausted his own purse and subjects by empty, unprofitable projects, that, after all this profusion, he was reduced to so great want, that he was not only obliged to strip profane places, but at length, after having wasted the treasures of Syria, the farthest provinces of the east, and then those of Egypt, he did not even abstain from the temples and treasures sacred to the gods. Amongst others having by treachery got possession of Jerusalem, after a cruel massacre of the inhabitants, he stripped a temple, which even Alexander the Great did not violate, of all the silver, gold, and rich furniture, which for many ages, and by superstitious profusion, had been amassed there.

there by a people, who are most tenacious of their religious ceremonies, and who without regard to show, and solely with a view to honour the INVISIBLE GOD, spared no cost or expense to enrich and adorn the place of his immediate presence. At length he attempted to spoil a table at Elymais, sacred either to Diana or Venus, famous for the number of worshippers, and plentifully stored with rich donations : in it, besides other things, were kept the shield and coat of mail of Alexander the Great, studded with jewels of a rich water, and large size. But the priests and inhabitants running to arms, repulsed him with great slaughter ; so that he was forced to retreat to Babylon, where he pined away with grief for this defeat, and was punished with an untimely death by that God, whose sacred habitation he had sacrilegiously dared to violate. Some authors say, that he and all his men perished in this attempt. Others give a like account of the manner of his father's death, who they say perished in an attempt to strip the temple of Jupiter or Belos in the same city. But those things which are foreign from our story, and happened several years after, have occasioned my making a longer digression than usual from the Roman story. But the strangeness of the subject may apologise for it.

CHAP. XXI. Towards the end of the year Gracchus the proconsul, having reduced the Sardinians, and given the command of the army to the prætor Cornelius, returned to Rome to obtain a triumph, which the Fathers unanimously granted him, for the great service he had done the state. The tradition is, that he brought so great a number of prisoners from thence, that people, tired with the sale, jestingly called out, "Sardinians to sell." This afterwards became a proverb, when any cheap and plentiful commodity was put up to sale. Then the two consuls triumphed for the Ligurians and Gauls, and, as far as can be conjectured from ancient marbles,

Scævola

Scævola claimed his for a victory at sea. Whether he or his colleague presided at the next election, is uncertain, however the fasces were transferred to Sp. Postumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scævola. It happened, that in the election of prætors, Lucius, or some say Cneius, Cornelius Scipio, son of Africanus, contested for the office with C. Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary. It seems he had degenerated so much from the virtues of his father, and by his vices become so great a disgrace to the Cornelian family, that all the centuries were upon the point of preferring his competitor, had not Cicereius by his modesty prevented an affront which was owing either to fortune, or the error of the comitia. He could not endure to see his patron's son baffled in a competition for an office. Accordingly he left the temple, threw off the whited robe, and of an antagonist sure to succeed became a generous client, and supported Scipio with his credit. Thus Scipio, by the interest of Cicereius, got an office, which it was probable the people would not have conferred on him. However the latter had all the honour of it. The other five prætors were C. Cassius Longinus, P. Furius Philus, L. Claudius Asellus, M. Atilius Serranus, and Cn. Servilius Coepio. The consuls moved the senate to determine their provinces. Both had Liguria, but in separate quarters. But the levies and religious affairs prevented their going thither directly, and I am of opinion, the latter was the occasion of their performing nothing memorable. Then the prætors drew lots for their provinces. Longinus got the jurisdiction over citizens], and Scipio that over foreigners. Atilius got Sardinia, but was ordered to go to Corsica with a new legion of 5000 foot and 300 horse, which the consuls had levied. Cornelius, the former prætor of Sardinia, was continued in his command there while Atilius prosecuted the war in Corsica. Coepio got the farther, and Philo the hither Spain, with 3000 Ro-

man

man foot and 250 horse, and 5000 Latin foot and 300 horse each. Asellus got Sicily without any supply of troops. Besides the former, the consuls were ordered to levy two new legions with their full complement of horse and foot, and to procure from the Latins 10,000 foot and 600 horse. The consuls were greatly obstructed in making the levies by the plague, which now made as great havock among men as it had done the year before among beasts. Those who were seized with it, languished generally till the seventh day; if they got over that, it turned to a quartan ague. The mortality was greatest among the slaves, whose carcases lay scattered about the streets unburied. Nay the stores for funerals, which were kept in the temple of Libitina, were not sufficient to bury the people of free condition. The dead bodies rotted away without being touched by dogs or vultures; and it is sufficiently certain, that during all the time the plague raged, this and the preceding year, a vulture never was seen. Many priests died of it. The pontifex, Cn. Servilius Cœpicio, father of the prætor, Ti. Semp. Longus, son of Caius, one of the keepers of the sacred books, and P. Ælius Prætus the augur, Ti. Semp. Gracchus, and C. Mamilius Vitulus, the curio maximus, with the pontifex M. Sempronius Tuditanus. In room of the latter C. Sulpicius Galba was chosen pontifex, and T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus to succeed Gracchus as augur: Q. Ælius succeeded Pætus, and C. Sempronius Longus was chosen keeper of the sacred books, and C. Scribonius curio maximus. As the plague did not seem to abate, the senate ordered the Sybilline books to be consulted. By their direction a supplication of one day was appointed, and the people in the forum made a vow, which was pronounced by Q. Philippus the pontifex maximus, to celebrate the feriæ Latinae for two days, in case the pestilence and mortality ceased in the Roman territories. In the territory of

of Veii a boy was born with two heads, at Sinuessa one wanting a hand, and at Osmo a girl with teeth. Above the temple of Saturn, in the forum at Rome, was seen a rainbow during a whole day, though the weather was fair and serene; likewise three suns at the same time, with many lights shooting through the air in the same night about Lanuvium. The Cærites affirmed they saw in their city a serpent with a crest, and yellow spots like gold. It is also very certain an ox spake about Capua.

CHAP. XXII. About the 7th of June the ambassadors who had gone to Carthage, after they had been at the court of Massinissa, returned from Africa. They learned more of the transactions at Carthage from the Numidian prince, than from the Carthaginians. However they said, they had found that ambassadors had arrived there from Peres, and had an audience in the night in the temple of Æsculapius: Massinissa likewise affirmed, and the Carthaginians but faintly denied, that they had sent an embassy to Macedonia. Upon this the senate resolved to send ambassadors thither also, and pitched upon C. Lælius, M. Val. Messalla, and Sex. Digitius. About the same time a canton of the Dolopes refusing to submit to Peres, had appealed to the Romans to determine the controversy betwixt him and them. However, the king took the field with an army, and reduced the whole nation into subjection to him. From thence he crossed mount Oeta, and, under pretext of satisfying some religious scruples, went to consult the oracles at Delphos. Thus all of a sudden he appeared in the heart of Greece, and struck great terror into the neighbouring cities; nay the alarm reached king Eumenes in Asia. He tarried only three days at Delphos, and then took his route towards his own kingdom through Phthiotis of Achaea and Thessaly, without committing the least hostilities in the countries through which he marched. He was not contented thus to conciliate the af-

sections of the states through which he passed, but either sent deputies or circular letters, begging them to forget the enmities that had subsisted between them and his father, and which were not so inveterate, but that they might, nay ought to have terminated with him. For his own part, he saw nothing to obstruct their entering into a firm alliance with him. In a particular manner he cast about for means to be reconciled to the Achæans.

CHAP. XXIII. This nation and Athens alone had carried their resentment so far as to prohibit all Macedonians from entering their territories. By these means many of their slaves fled for refuge to Macedonia; and as the Achæans had interdicted the king's subjects their country, they durst not enter his to reclaim them. When Perses perceived this, he ordered them all to be seized, and sent back to their masters, with letters, advising them to prevent a like desertion of their slaves for the future. When their prætor Xenarchus, who sought an opportunity of gaining the king's favour, read those letters, most of the assembly, and especially those who, contrary to their expectation, were to receive back their fugitive slaves, declared they thought the king's letters were very friendly and generous. But Callicrates, who was sensible the safety of their state depended on their inviolably maintaining their friendship with the Romans, spoke as follows. "The present subject of our deliberation seems to many a matter of little or no importance. But in my opinion it is not only of the utmost consequence, but already in some measure determined. For we, who have prohibited the kings of Macedon and their subjects from entering our dominions, and passed an irrevocable decree not to admit their ambassadors or messengers to an audience, for fear of their misleading some of us, now hear as it were an absent Perses haranguing our assembly, and (may the gods deliver us!) approve his speech. Even

Wild

“ wild beasts for the most part despise and avoid the
“ food that is laid to decoy them, but we blindly
“ swallow a bait gilded with the specious appear-
“ ance of an inconsiderable favour, and in hopes of
“ recovering some despicable slaves of small value,
“ suffer our own liberty to be undermined by secret
“ practices. Who does not see, that Perseus seeks
“ to pave a way for an alliance with him, which
“ must violate our friendship with the Romans, up-
“ on which our all depends? Indeed some may
“ doubt that the Romans will not have war with
“ Perseus, and that what was expected during Phi-
“ lip's life, and only suspended by his death, will
“ not happen now he is dead. You know Philip
“ had two sons, Perseus and Demetrius. The latter
“ far excelled the former in birth by the mother's
“ side, in virtue, natural abilities, and the affection
“ of the Macedonians. But as the father destined
“ his crown as a reward to him who entertained
“ the most inveterate hatred to the Romans, he
“ murdered Demetrius upon the sole accusation of
“ having contracted a friendship with that people,
“ and made Perseus king, whom the Romans looked
“ upon as more deserving of punishment, than to
“ succeed to a throne. And, pray, what else has
“ this prince done, ever since his father's death,
“ but made preparations for war? First of all he
“ sent the Bastarnæ into Dardania, to the great ter-
“ ror of all Greece, who, had they continued there,
“ would have found them more oppressive neigh-
“ bours than the Gauls were to the Asiatics.
“ Though he missed his aim in that, yet he did not
“ lay aside his projects of war; nay, to speak the
“ truth, he has already commenced hostilities. He
“ has subjected Dolopia by force of arms, and shew-
“ ed no regard to their appeal to Rome concerning
“ the provinces in dispute. Then crossing mount
“ Oeta, that he might on a sudden appear in the
“ heart of Greece, he went up to Delphos. With
“ what.

" what view do you think did he undertake this
 " strange expedition? Next he traversed Thessaly;
 " and his moderation in doing thof people whom
 " he hates no injury, makes me more suspicious
 " that he intended to found their inclinations. Last
 " or all he sends letters to us under the appearance
 " of doing us a kindness; bidding us think on pro-
 " per measures to prevent our needing the same fa-
 " vour from him a second time; that is, that we
 " w^{ld} cancel our decree, which prohibits the
 " Macedonians from entering Peloponnesus, that
 " we may admit his ambassadors, entertain com-
 " merce with his courtiers, and soon see the Mace-
 " donian army and the king himself pass from Del-
 " phos into Peloponnesus, which are separated only
 " by a narrow streight; that we may j: in his forces
 " when he takes arms against the Romans. My
 " advice is to take no new resolution, but preserve
 " things on their present footing, till we have abso-
 " lute certainty, whether our fears are without
 " foundation or not. If the peace continue be-
 " tween Macedonia and Rome, let us also contract
 " an alliance and commerce with Perses. At pre-
 " sent all thoughts of it are dangerous and unfea-
 " sonable."

CHAP. XXIV. Then Arco, brother to Xenar-
 chus, thus harangued the assembly, " Callicrates
 " has rendered it difficult for me and all who differ
 " from him in opinion, to speak their sentiments.
 " By pleading for maintaining our alliance with
 " Rome, by saying the violation and subversion of
 " it is attempted, when nobody makes such an at-
 " tempt, he hath cunningly devised, that all who
 " are of a contrary opinion may be thought to speak
 " against the Romans. First of all, as if he was
 " not a member of our state, but had come from
 " the privy deliberations of Rome, or been present
 " at the cabinet-councils of Macedonia, he knows
 " every thing, and informs us of their most secret
 " machinations.

“ machinations. He also prophesies what would
“ have come to pass if Philip’s life had been pro-
“ longed ; how Perseus got the crown, what the Ma-
“ cedonians designs are, and what the resolution of
“ the Romans. But we, who neither know the
“ cause nor manner of Demetrius’s death, or what
“ Philip would have done, had he lived longer,
“ ought to fuit our deliberations to the open face of
“ affairs. And this we are certain of, that Perseus,
“ as soon as he came to the throne, sent an embassy
“ to Rome, and the Romans recognised him king ;
“ we have heard that they sent ambassadors to the
“ court of Macedon, were they met with a gracious
“ reception. I look on all these circumstances as
“ certain indications of peace, not of a rupture ;
“ neither can the Romans be offended, that, as we
“ were firmly attached to them during the war, we
“ imitate their example in peace. For I see no rea-
“ son why we alone should sustain a war against the
“ Macedonians with unabating resentment. Are
“ we afraid, because we lie so near and so convenient
“ for them ? Are we the weakest of all their neigh-
“ bours, like the Dolopes, whom Perseus lately sub-
“dued ? Nay, on the contrary, with the blessing
“ of the gods, our own strength and the very di-
“ stance of our country secures us against their at-
“ tempts. But suppose we were as much exposed
“ to them as the Thessalians and Ætolians ; suppose
“ we, who have been constant allies and friends to
“ the Romans, had no more credit and interest with
“ them than the Ætolians who not long ago were
“ their enemies ; yet let us have the same com-
“ merce with the Macedonians, that the Ætolians,
“ Thessalians, Epizoteis, and in one word, all the
“ states of Greece have. Are we alone so execra-
“ ble as to renounce human society, if I may be
“ allowed the expression ? Philip, by bringing his
“ arms against us, gave us some reason for passing
“ this decree. But what has Perseus deserved ?

“ This new king, so far from doing us injury, endeavours by his favours to cancel the enmity his father bore us. Why then are we alone an enemy to him? Nay, I might say, ought not the benefits we have received from former kings of Macedon, make us forget the injuries done us by Philip, (if indeed he did us any), especially now he is dead? Formerly when a Roman fleet was riding at Cenchrea, when their consul was at Elatia with an army, our diet deliberated for three days, whether we should take part with the Romans or with Philip. Though our dread of the Romans, who were at hand, might have inclined us to join them, yet surely we must have had some reason for being so long in coming to a resolution. What was that reason? Even our ancient alliance with the Macedonians, and the many former and great obligations we lay under to their kings. Let the same reasons have some weight now, and induce us, if not to be their best friends, at least not to be their most inveterate enemies. Let us not, Callicrates, speciously insist on what has no relation to the present question. Nobody advises rashly to engage ourselves in a new treaty or alliance. We want only a mutual commerce, and an opportunity to grant and receive justice, that we may not, by interdicting the Macedonians, be denied admittance into their dominions; that our slaves may not always have an asylum open to them. Can this be any violation of our treaty with the Romans? Why do we render so trifling and open an affair a matter of the utmost consequence and suspicious? Why do we raise alarms on no foundation? Why do we, to flatter the Romans, make others suspected, and hated by them? If it was a time of war, even Perse himself would not doubt of our joining the Romans. As it is peace, let us at least suspend, if we cannot entirely put

" a period to our resentment." The same persons who approved of Perseus's letters, applauded Arco's speech ; but the chief lords, offended that Perseus should imagine he could obtain by a short letter, what he had not thought worth sending an embassy for, prevented any resolution being taken in the affair at that time. The Macedonian afterwards sent ambassadors to their diet assembled at Megalopolis : but the faction which feared giving the Romans umbrage, used all their efforts to prevent their being admitted to an audience,

C H A P. XXV. About the same time the Aetolians wreaked their fury on one another, and their intestine massacres had like to have ruined their state. But being weary of their mutual jars, both factions in the end sent deputies to Rome, at the same time that they laboured all they could amicably to accommodate their differences among themselves. However they were prevented by a new act of treachery, which rekindled their former fury. Some of Polyxenus's faction, who had been expelled Hypata, had a promise of being reinstated in their country, under the most solemn assurances of safety, from Eupolemus the head of the city. This man went out amongst the crowd, and met eighty of them, men of distinction, on their return : but after giving them the most kindly welcome, as soon as they entered the gates, he caused them all to be put to death, in vain invoking the gods to witness the assurances of safety that had been given them. This rekindled the intestine war with more fury. C. Val. Lætinus, Ap. Claud. Pulcher, C. Memmius, M. Postilius, and L. Canuleius, who had been sent to reconcile them, arrived about this time at Delphos. The deputies of both factions debated the matter before them with great warmth ; but Proxenus seemed to have the advantage both in regard to the goodness of his cause and his eloquence. However, he was poisoned a few days after by his wife Orthobula.

bula. She was condemned, but fled into exile. The Cretans also had run into the same fury. But upon the arrival of Q. Minucius, who had been sent with ten ships to compose their differences, their tranquillity seemed in a great measure to be restored. However the truce between the contending factions lasted only six months, when the war broke out again with more violence than ever. The Lycians also about this time were grievously harassed by the Rhodian arms. But it is not my purpose to relate the progress of the wars of foreign nations; and I find more than sufficient employment in writing the Roman story.

CHAP. XXVI. The Celtiberians, who had after their defeat submitted to Gracchus, continued quiet while M. Titinius was in the province, but on the arrival of Ap. Claudius renewed hostilities, and began with attacking the Roman camp. The sentries on the rampart and the guards before the gates despaired them approaching about day-break, and gave the alarm. Claudius, having given the signal for battle, and made a short speech to his troops, led them out at three gates at once. The Celtiberians opposed them in the passage, and as the narrowness of the place hindered the Romans from engaging all at once, the battle was equal for some time. But when by pressing one another forward they had got without the lines, and extended their front as far as the enemy's wings, which surrounded them before, they charged all of a sudden with so much fury, that the Celtiberians were not able to withstand them. Before eight o'clock in the morning they were entirely routed, and about 15,000 of them slain or taken prisoners, with thirty-two standards. Their camp also was taken the same day, and the war finally terminated: for those that survived the battle slipped away to their own cities, and quietly submitted to the Roman yoke.

CHAP. XXVII. The same year Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

cus and A. Postumius Albinus were elected censors. In reviewing the senate they nominated M. Æmilius Lepidus, the pontifex maximus, president of it, and degraded nine members. The chief of that number were M. Corn. Maluginensis, who had been prætor in Spain two years before ; the present prætor Scipio, who administered justice between citizens and foreigners ; and Cn. Fulvius, brother to the censor, and who, according to Valerius Antias, was partner in his estate. The consuls, after having made the usual vows, set out for their provinces. The senate gave Æmilius the charge of suppressing the sedition of the Paduans in the territory of the Veneti, as their own deputies had brought advice, that the disputes of their factions had embroiled them in an intestine war. The deputies who had been sent to compose a like sedition in Ætolia, sent back word, that it was impossible to check the fury of that nation. The arrival of the consul at Padua saved that people, and as he had no other employment in his province, he returned to Rome. The censors were the first who paved the streets with flints, and the roads without the city with gravel, banking them on each side with stone. They also built bridges in several places, and a theatre for the prætors and aediles to exhibit the plays in. Likewise places in the circus to keep the race-horses in, till the signal for starting, the ovales for marking the number of courses, the goals within which the chariots were not to pass, and iron cages out of which the wild beasts were to be let into the circus. They also made iron instruments for the use of the consuls on mount Alba. They also paved with flint the ascent leading to the Capitol, and the portico leading from the temple of Saturn in the Capitol to the house where the senators met for private consultations with the court above it, and the key without the gate Trigemina, all with stone, and guarded them with wooden rails.

They

They also repaired the Æmilian portico, and made stairs from the Tiber to the key. Without the same gate they paved the portico leading to the Aventine hill, and in the same street built a public hall near the temple of Venus. They likewise surrounded Calatia and Osmo with walls, and having sold some public edifices there, expended the money arising from that sale in building shops round the forum of these two cities. As Postumius insisted he would do no public work or lay out their money without particular orders from the Roman senate and people, his colleague Fulvius built a temple to Jupiter at Pisaurum and Fundæ, an aqueduct at Pollentia, paved a high way at Pisaurum with flint, and laid the aquaries at Sinuesa with gravel. He also made common sewers in these colonies, surrounded their market-places with porticoes and shops, and erected three statues of Janus at Sinuesa. These works gained Fulvius great favour among the colonies. Those censors were also very severe in their reformation of morals. They degraded many knights.

CHAP. XXVIII. Towards the end of the year a supplication for one day, and twenty large sacrifices were appointed for the success of their arms in Spain under the auspices of Ap. Claudius. Upon report of a great earthquake in Sabinia, which had overturned many houses, a supplication for another day was appointed at the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. On Claudius's return from Spain the senate granted him the honour of an ovation. The time for electing consuls approached, and the number of candidates occasioned a great struggle. However, L. Postumius Albinus and M. Popillius Lænas were preferred. Then Numerius Fabius Buteo, M. Matienus, C. Cicereius, M. Furius Crassipes, A. Atilius Serranus, and C. Cluvius, the three latter a second-time, were chosen prætors. When the elections were finished, Ap. Claudius Centho entered the city in an ovation for the Celtiberians, and brought into

into the treasury 10,000 pound weight of silver and 5000 of gold. Cn. Cornelius was installed priest of Jupiter. In the same year a board was hung up in the temple of Matuta, with the following inscription. "Under the command and auspices of T. Sempronius Gracchus a legion and army of the Roman people subdued Sardinia. In that province 80,000 enemies were either killed or taken prisoners. The consul after this success, and having freed and restored the allies from being tributary to the enemy, brought back his troops safe and sound, and enriched with booty. He entered Rome a second time in triumph. As a memorial of which, he caused this inscription to be hung up in honour of Jupiter." The figure of the board resembled that of the island, and contained the plan of several battles. Besides, in this year several combats of gladiators were exhibited, some of which were but mean. The most remarkable was that given by Flamininus, in honour of his deceased father, with a sole, entertainment, and stage-plays for four days successively. But the most observable circumstance in this show, was, that in the space of three days seventy-four champions fought.

B O O K XLII.

A B R I D G M E N T .

- I. *The consul Albinus the first who put the allies to any expense in his journey.*
- III. *The censor Flaccus spoils the temple of Juno Lacinia of its marble roof, to cover one he built, but is ordered by the senate to carry it back.*
- V. *Preparations for the Macedonian war.*
- VII. *Successes in Corsica, and in Liguria.*
- The consul Popillius sells the Statellates for slaves after they had surrendered; is ordered by the senate to ransom them, and reinstate them in their privileges.*
- IX. *Eumenes comes to Rome, complains of Perses;*

is highly respected. XV. *On his return is near assassinated at Delphos.* XVII. *Perseus employs Rammius a Brundifian to poison the leading men at Rome.* XXIII. *A debate in the senate between the Carthaginians and Gulussa son of Mæsius.* XXV. *Preparations for the Macedonian war.* XXXII. *Debate between the consuls who should have Macedonia for his province.* XXXIII. *The old centurions position that they might not be put into stations inferior to those they had served in before.* XXXIX. *Perseus over-reached in an interview with the Roman deputies.* XLIX. *The consul Licinius lands in Greece.* LIX. *Is defeated in an engagement of the cavalry.* LXV. *Upon Perseus's being forced to his camp, in a skirmish, he retires into Macedonia, and Licinius leads his troops into Boeotia into winter-quarters.*

CHAP. I. THE first thing the new consuls did was to move the senate to determine the provinces and armies. Liguria was allotted to them both, and to act in it each of them had two new legions with 10,000 Latin foot and 600 horse, and orders to raise 3000 Roman foot and 200 horse, to recruit the army in Spain. They were also to levy 1500 Roman foot and 100 horse, with which the prætor, who should get Sardinia, should prosecute the war in Corsica, and in the mean time the old prætor M. Atilius was to remain in that province. Then the new prætors drew lots for theirs. Serranus got the jurisdiction over citizens; Cluvius that over foreigners; Buteo, hither; Matienus, farther Spain; Crassipes, Sicily; and Cicereius, Sardinia. Before these magistrates set out for their provinces, the senate resolved, that the consul Albinus should make a progress into Campania to separate the public lands from the estates of private persons; for it was certain, that the latter, by making gradual encroachments, possessed a great part of the state-lands. This magistrate had a pique against the Prænestines, because when he went there in a private capacity to sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, they had shewn him no regard either in public or private. Accordingly,

dingly, before he set out from Rome, he sent letters to Praeneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him on the road, provide him a lodging at the charge of his city, and have carriages ready against his departure. He was the first consul who ever put the allies to any charge or expense. For to prevent their being a burden to the allies, the public always furnished the magistrates and her generals with all necessaries, tents, and mules : and on the roads they lodged with their friends, between whom and them the rights of hospitality were mutually maintained. The towns were only obliged to find conveyances for the couriers which the republic sent express to them. Otherwise the Roman magistrates never put the allies to any expense. This resentment of the consul, which, though just, ought not to have been wreaked during his magistracy, and the silence of the Praefects proceeding from either modesty or fear, made the Roman magistrates, as if the precedent had been approved, daily more exorbitant in these demands upon the allies.

CHAP. II. In the beginning of the year, the ambassadors who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedonia, sent back word, “ That they could not obtain an audience of Perses, some saying he was absent and some sick, though both were equally false. However, it was evident he was making preparations for war, and would not delay it longer. That the intestine seditions in Ætolia daily increased, and that their authority was not sufficient to restrain the heads of these dissensions.” While they were thus in continual expectation of the Macedonian war, it was resolved, before it commenced, to expiate the prodigies, and render the gods propitious, in the manner prescribed by their Sybilline books. The representation of a great navy had been seen in the air at Lanuvium : at Privernum black wool had grown out of the earth ; at Remens near Veii it rained stones : the Pomptine territory

was overspread with clouds of locusts : as they were ploughing in Gaul, fishes started up in the furrows. On account of these prodigies the Sybilline books were consulted, and the decemvirs directed what sacrifices and to what gods they should be offered, and that a supplication should be made for one day ; likewise that the other, which had been vowed the preceding year for abating the plague, should be now performed, and holidays strictly observed.

CHAP. III. The same year the roof was taken off the temple of Juno Lacinia on the following occasion. The censor Flaccus had vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris when he made war on the Celtiberians in Spain, and now used his utmost endeavours to render it the most magnificent and superb edifice in Rome. He thought it would be a great ornament to it if it was covered with marble flags. With this view he set out for Bruttium, and took the half of the roof off the temple of Juno Lacinia, thinking that would be sufficient to cover his own. He had boats ready to ship and carry them away, without being obstructed in this sacrilege by the allies whom he overawed by his censorial authority. At the censor's return, the flags were landed, and carried to the temple. Though he never mentioned from whence they came, yet it was impossible to conceal it. The senate loudly exclaimed against it, and insisted that the consuls should move the senate to take the affair under consideration. The censor was sent for, and as soon as he entered the house, they all in general, and each in particular, bitterly inveighed against him to his face : " That not contented with having violated the most august temple in that part of the country, and which even Pyrrhus and Hannibal had never touched, he had uncovered and ruined it. He had taken off its roof, and exposed it to the injuries of the weather. A censor, whose function it was to watch over the morals of others, and take care that the temples and public edifices were kept in

" in exact repair, ran from city to city of the allies to
 " ruin and uncover their sacred temples. Such vi-
 " lence, exercised upon private buildings, would seem
 " vile to all men ; but in respect to the temples of the
 " gods, it was an abominable sacrilege. His erect-
 " ing one temple by the ruins of another was involv-
 " ing the Roman people in his sacrilege ; as if the
 " gods were not every where the same, and one was
 " to be violated to honour another." Before they
 proceeded to a division, the whole senate had evidently
 expressed their sentiments. Accordingly they uni-
 unanimously voted, that the flags should be carried
 back and replaced on the temple, and that the goddess
 should be appeased by sacrifices. These were care-
 fully performed ; but the persons who carried back
 the flags brought word that they had been left in the
 area of the temple, because no workman could be
 found ingenious enough to replace them.

CHAP. IV. The prætors having set out for their provinces, N. Fabius Buteo died at Marseilles on his journey to higher Spain. When couriers arrived from Marseilles with this news, the senate ordered P. Furius and Cn. Servilius, who were to be succeeded by new prætors, to draw lots, which of them should continue another year in command of Buteo's province. The lot fell out very well, that Furius who had had that province the year before should stay. The same year as the lands conquered from the Ligurians and Gauls lay waste, the senate passed a decree, for dividing them. Accordingly, by their order, the city-prætor created M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Cassius, T. Æbutius Carus, C. Tremellius, P. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. and L. Appuleii, M. Cæcilius, C. Salonius, and C. Munatius, to execute that commission. They gave every Roman citizen ten acres apiece, and every Latin three. In the interim ambassadors arrived from Ætolia about the dissensions and seditions in their country, and from Thessaly, with advice of the motions in Macedonia.

CHAP. V. By this time Perseus, revolving in his mind the war which had been concerted in his father's life-time, endeavoured to conciliate the affections not only of all the nations, but of all the particular states of Greece, by sending ambassadors to them, and by large promises rather than performances. However most of them were inclined to favour him, and rather better affected to him than to Eumenes, notwithstanding the latter, by his services and munificence, had laid all the states and most of the principal men of Greece under the strongest obligations, and governed his own kingdom with so much moderation, that none of the cities subject to him would have changed conditions with any of the free states. On the contrary, it was reported, that Perseus, after the death of his father, had stabbed his wife with his own hand ; and had privately murdered Apelles who had been his instrument in treacherously taking away the life of Demetrius, and was living in exile because Philip ordered search to be made for him to bring him to punishment ; alluring him to come to court, by promises of great rewards for past services. Yet though thus stained with domestic and other murders, and without the least merit to recommend him, the generality of the states of Greece preferred him to a prince who shewed the most pious affection towards his relations, such moderation to his subjects, and so great munificence to all men : prejudiced against this new king, either by the ancient renown of the Macedonian kings, a desire of novelty, or an ambition to see Perseus make head against the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only state that had intestine seditions on account of their great debt : for the Thessalians were in the same condition, and the contagion had spread all over Perrhæbia like a plague. As soon as advice arrived, that the latter were in arms, the senate dispatched Ap. Claudius to inquire into and accommodate their differences. After he had chastised the ringleaders of both factions, and,

and, with consent of the creditors, struck off all the accumulated usury, he ordered the just debt to be paid at equal annual payments. He also in the same manner composed the differences in Perrhaebia. At the same time Marcellus was hearing at Delphos the causes of the Ætolian dissensions which they had maintained with the keenest resentment, and even by arms. When he saw their animosities hurried them on to the most rash and audacious actions, he would not pass a decree for the relief of the one or burdening the other party; but begged both in general to cease hostilities, and forgetting all that was past, terminated their dissensions by a sincere reconciliation. As an evidence of their sincerity, they mutually exchanged hostages. Corinth was appointed the place for the residence of the hostages.

C H A P. VI. From Delphos and the Ætolian diet, Marcellus passed over to Peloponnesus, having appointed the states of Achaea to meet. There he praised the constancy of the nation in firmly adhering to their decree for keeping the kings of Macedonia out of their territories. This was a plain demonstration of the resentment the Romans bore to Perses. To hasten its breaking out into open hostilities, king Eumenes came to Rome, with notes of all the Macedonian's preparations for war, which he had been at great pains in collecting. About the same time the five ambassadors that were sent to watch the motions of Perses in Macedonia, were ordered to go to Alexandria, and renew the ancient alliance with Ptolemy. Their names were, C. Valerius, Cn. Lutatius Cerco, Q. Baebius Sulca, M. Cornelius Mamula, and M. Caecilius Denter. There also arrived at Rome an embassy from Antiochus, with one Apollonius at the head of it. When they had their audience of the senate, their chief in the first place apologised very solidly in the name of his master, "for having delayed paying the tribute so long after the stated time. But now he had brought it all, that

" his master might lie under no obligation to the Romans, but in regard to the time of payment. Besides he had brought them a present of gold vases, weighing 500 pounds *. He desired they would renew the alliance and friendship they had made with his father; and assured them, that whatever the Roman people should injoin him, and was proper to be laid upon a sincere and faithful ally, he would never fail to perform with the greatest obsequiousness. For the senate had heaped so many favours on him when he was at Rome, and he had met with so great civilities from the Roman youth, that he had been treated more like a king than an hostage." The Fathers gave them a gracious answer, and ordered the ancient alliance to be renewed with Antiochus. The city-quæstors received the tribute and the gold vases, and they had commission to place the latter in whatever temples they pleased. They also made the ambassador a present of 100,000 asses of brass, and defrayed his expenses as long as he was in Italy. The ambassadors that were in Syria sent advice that they were highly honoured at that court, and that the king was among Rome's fastest friends.

CHAP. VII. The same year the prætor Cicereius fought a pitched battle with the Corsicans, in which he killed 7000 enemies, and took above 1700 prisoners. In that battle he vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Then he granted them peace at their humble request, and made them pay 200,000 pound weight of wax. After reducing Corsica, he sailed to Sardinia. A battle was fought in the territory of the Statiellates in Liguria near the city of Carystus †, where a vast body of Ligurians had assembled. Upon the arrival of the consul Popillius, they at first sheltered themselves within their walls: but when they saw him preparing to besiege their city, they marched out and drew up

* 24,000 l. Sterling.

† Garufa, on the road from Tortona to Genoa.

in order of battle. With this very view the consul had menaced them with a siege; so he did not delay coming to an action. The battle continued three hours without victory declaring itself. When the consul perceived that all efforts to break the enemy were in vain, he ordered the cavalry to mount, and to ride with full speed to break the enemy in three places at once. The greatest part of them broke through the centre, and fell on the enemy's rear. This filled them with terror. They dispersed themselves on all sides, but few took their route to the city, because the Roman cavalry in a particular manner guarded the avenues to it. Many of the Ligurians fell in this obstinate battle, and many were killed in the flight. Their loss in all amounted to 10,000 slain, and upwards of 700 taken prisoners, with eighty-two standards. It was even a bloody victory to the Romans, who lost above 3000 men, as many in both fronts were killed.

CHAP. VIII. After this battle the Ligurians, who had been dispersed in the flight, assembled, and, finding that the number they had lost exceeded that of those who remained, which amounted to about 10,000, surrendered, without demanding any conditions. For they hoped the consul would not treat them with more rigour than former generals had done their countrymen. But he took away their arms, destroyed their city, and sold them and their effects. Then he wrote the senate an account of what he had done. When the prætor Atilius (for the other consul was busied about the lands in Campania) had read the letters in the senate, the Fathers looked on Popilius's conduct as vile and infamous.
“ The Statiellates,” said they, “ the only people of Liguria who have not borne arms against the commonwealth, who even, on this last occasion, have been attacked without being the aggressors, have been used with all imaginable cruelty, after they had surrendered and thrown themselves on

“ the

" the faith of the Romans. By selling for slaves so
 " many innocent persons, who implored the justice
 " of the Romans, he had set so pernicious an exam-
 " ple, that for the future no enemy would venture
 " to surrender. The Statellates are dragged away
 " to be slaves to those who once were avowed ene-
 " mies of Rome, but now enjoy peace." In conse-
 quence the senate passed a decree, " That Popillius
 " should reinstate them in their liberty, by returning
 " the money to those who had purchased them: and
 " take care to restore them as many of their effects
 " as could be recovered. That they should have
 " permission to make arms themselves as soon as they
 " could. And, lastly, that the consul should quit
 " the province as soon as he had reinstated the Li-
 " gurians in their former condition. Victory was
 " glorious when gained over real enemies, but in-
 " famous when purchased by oppressing the unfortu-
 " nate who submit.

CHAP. IX. But the consul was as obstinate in
 refusing to obey the senate's commands, as he had
 been cruel to the Ligurians. He immediately put
 his troops into winter-quarters at Pisa, and returned
 to the city full of rage against the Fathers and indigna-
 tion against Atilius. He directly assembled the senate in
 the temple of Pellona, and bitterly inveighed against
 the prætor. " Instead of moving the senate," said
 he, " to return thanks to the immortal gods for
 " my success as he ought, he obtained a decree of
 " the senate against me in favour of the enemy,
 " in order to transfer my victory to the Ligurians;
 " and in a manner ordered me to be delivered up
 " to them. Therefore I demand of you, Fathers,
 " to order him to be fined, and that decree to be
 " cancelled; that the supplications which ought to
 " have been decreed in my absence, when you re-
 " ceived my letters with an account of my success,
 " be now appointed, and the honours I have me-

" rited

" rited conferred on me." But the Fathers reproached him to his face with as much severity as they inveighed against him in his absence ; so he returned to his province without obtaining either of his demands. His colleague Postumius, having spent the whole summer in bounding the public lands, returned to Rome, without having seen his province, to preside at the elections, in which C. Popillius Lænas and P. Ælius Ligur were chosen consuls. Then C. Licinius Crassus, M. Junius Pennus, Sp. Lucretius, Sp. Cluvius, Cn. Sicinius, and C. Memmius a second time, were elected *prætors*.

CHAP. X. This year the censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and L. Postumius Albinus closed the lustrum. The number of citizens introlled amounted to 269,015. What made the number so small was, that the consul Postumius had issued an edict, forbidding all the Latins, who ought to have returned home in pursuance of an order of a former consul, C. Claudius, to be registered at Rome, but in their own states. This censorship was administered with great harmony, and much to the advantage of the republic. All the senators they had degraded, and the knights from whom they took their horses, they removed from their tribes, and reduced to the condition of *zærarii*, without one of them approving what the other did in this respect. Fulvius dedicated the temple which he had vowed to Fortuna Equestris, when he made war on the Celtiberians, six years after that vow, and on that occasion exhibited stage-plays for four days, and the Circensian games for one day. L. Corn. Lentulus, one of the keepers of the sacred books, died this year, and A. Postumius was chosen to succeed him. The wind all of a sudden brought so great a cloud of locusts into Apulia, that all its lands were covered with them. C. Sicinius, one of the *prætors* elect, was sent to destroy this pest, so fatal to the productions of the earth. With a great number

ber of peasants, whom he drew together, he destroyed them in some time. In the beginning of the consulate of C. Popillius and P. Aelius, the disputes of the preceding year were revived. The Fathers insisted that the affair of Statiellates should again be brought upon the carpet, and the decree concerning them renewed; and accordingly the consul Aelius laid it before them. On the other hand, Popillius interceded with his colleague and the senate for his brother, declaring he would oppose all resolutions against him. This deterred his colleague. But this only the more enraged the Fathers against both consuls, and made them persist in the affair. Therefore when the allotment of the provinces came upon the carpet, though the consuls petitioned to have Macedonia for one, as a war with Perseus was on the point of breaking out, yet the senate assigned Liguria to them both. They refused them Macedonia, because they had stopped the bill about M. Popillius. After that when they petitioned for new armies, or at least recruits for the old ones, the Fathers would grant them neither. Junius and Lucrelius, the new praetors for the two Spanish provinces, petitioned for a supply of troops for their armies, but were refused. Crassus got by lot the jurisdiction of citizens; Sicinius, that of foreigners; Memmius, Sicily; and Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, full of indignation against the Fathers, for the reasons above mentioned, appointed the feriae Latinæ as soon as possible, declaring they would set out directly for their provinces, without entering on any state-affairs, except what related to their own governments.

CHAP. XI. Valerius Antias says, that, during this consulate, Attalus, brother of Eumenes, came to Rome to accuse Perseus, and inform the senate of the preparations he was making for war. But the greatest number of annalists, and those deserving of more credit, say, that Eumenes came in person. On his arrival, he was received with magnificence —

not only suitable to his own merit, but to the favours the Roman people had formerly heaped upon him. Being introduced into the senate, he declared, “ That besides his desire to pay his duty to the gods and men, by whose munificence he had been raised to so high a pinnacle of fortune, that he durst wish for nothing more, the motive of his journey was to apprise the senate, to be on their guard against the enterprises of Perses.” Then beginning with Philip’s first designs, he mentioned his murdering Demetrius, because he had declared against making war upon the Romans. “ He,” he said, “ brought the Bastarnæ out of their own country, to favour his invading Italy. While he was meditating this project, he was surprised by death, but had left his crown to one whom he knew to be an inveterate enemy to the Romans. In consequence Perses neglects no preparations, as if he himself had first formed the plan of a war, which was left him, as well as the crown, by inheritance. As his dominions have enjoyed a long tranquillity, he has a numerous body of youth : he has an opulent and powerful kingdom. He himself is in the bloom of life. Besides his robustness and vigour of body, his courage and ardour have been inured to war by long study and practice. From his infancy he was educated in his father’s tent, and accustomed to arms, by many and various expeditions his father sent him on, not only against his neighbours, but even in the war with Rome. Besides, since he has been upon the throne, he has effected, with surprising success, many things, which his father by all his efforts of open force and treachery could never compass. Above all, he has already gained an authority, which commonly is the effect of time and great deserts.

CHAP. XII. “ All the states of Greece and Asia revere his Majesty ; but it is not easy to be conceived

ceived for what benefits, for what munificence
they do him so much honour ; neither will I de-
termine, whether his being able to conciliate their
favour was owing merely to good fortune, or to
his enmity to the Romans. He is also highly con-
sidered by the most powerful kings. He has
married the daughter of Seleucus, who courted
him to that alliance ; and upon Prusias's humble
suit, he gave him his sister to wife. Innumer-
able embassies, with rich presents, have been
sent to congratulate him on these two nuptials,
which have been contracted under the auspices of
the noblest nations. Philip by all his alluring so-
licitations could never induce the Boeotians to
form an alliance or treaty with him ; but a treaty
is already signed with Perses, by three of their
principal cities ; one at Thebes, a second at De-
los, within a most august and celebrated temple,
and the third at Delphos. Nay, but for the op-
position of some particular members in the diet
of Achaia, who were well affected to the Ro-
man government, he would have got footing in
Achaia. But, O gods, the honours and services
I have done that nation, (and I can scarce say,
whether that people in general, or individuals,
lie under the greatest obligations to me), are
quite forgot and neglected, or cancelled by ho-
stilities. As to the Ætolians, is not all the world
sensible, that they applied to Perses, and not to
the Romans, for succour during their intestine se-
ditions ? Supported by these allies and associates,
he is making such preparations for war at home,
as to stand in need of no foreign assistance. He
has 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, with provisions
for ten years ; so that he can spare foraging du-
ring that time, either in his own, or his enemy's
territories. Beside the immense annual revenues
of his mines, he has money in his coffers suffi-
cient to pay 10,000 foreign mercenaries, without
including

" including his national troops, for an equal number of years. In his magazines he has arms enough for triple the forces he has on foot ; and if Macedonia should not be able to furnish him a sufficient number of soldiers, he has Thrace at his devotion, an inexhaustible nursery of men."

CHAP. XIII. To this headed a warm exhortation.

" I do not," continued he, " Conscript Fathers, advance those things upon conjecture, founded on uncertain rumours, or from a fond desire to have such accusations of my enemy verified, but upon a knowledge, from the strictest inquiry, as undoubted, as if you had sent me to be a spy upon him, and I had myself been eye-witness of them. Neither would I have left those large and fair dominions which you bestowed upon me, or have passed so great a sea, in order to destroy my credit with you by repeating groundless reports. No ! I observed the most noble states of Greece and Asia daily, more and more discovering their inclinations ; and if they are not checked, they will soon proceed so far, as that it will be out of their power to retreat or repent. I saw Perseus seizing other countries by force of arms ; so far was he from containing himself within the limits of Macedonia, and endeavouring, by favours and acts of kindness, to conciliate the affections of such as he could not reduce by force. I considered the difference between his proceedings and yours : he prepares for war, while you are procuring him certain peace. Nay, to me he appears, instead of preparing for war, to have actually begun it. He has driven Abrupolis, your friend and ally, out of his dominions. He caused Aretarus, a petty king of Illyricum in alliance with Rome, to be assassinated, because he kept a correspondence with you. He took care to have the two chief men of Thebes, Eversas and Callicrates, murdered, because they spoke

" their sentiments of him freely in the diet of Bæotia, and declared they would discover his intrigues to you. Contrary to treaty he succoured the Byzantines, made war upon Dolopia, and traversed Thessaly and Doris with an army, taking advantage of an intestine sedition to affit the party in the wrong, and oppress those who had justice on their side. He hath perplexed and embroiled every thing in Thessaly and Perrhaebia, giving the debtors hopes of cancelling all debts, that he might, with a body of bankrupts thus attached to him, oppress the principal men. As he saw you quietly look on, while he was engaged in those actions, and that you left him at liberty to do in Greece what he pleased, he now thinks himself sure, that he will meet no army till he lands in Italy. You, Romans, are best judges of what is most for your safety, and suitable to your dignity. For my own part, I thought it would be base in me, who was your ally, to suffer Perses to commence hostilities against you, before I came into Italy to warn you to be on your guard. Having acquitted myself of a necessary duty, and discharged my conscience, what farther remains for me, than to pray the gods, that you may take the measures best for yourselves, your republic, and us your friends and allies, whose fate depends on you ?"

CHAP. XIV. This speech made a great impression upon the Fathers. What passed in the senate was not then known, except that Eumenes had been there, such an inviolable secrecy was observed by that august body. It was not till after the war was terminated, that the speech of that monarch and the answer given him were divulged. A few days after, audience was given to the ambassadors of Perses. But as king Eumenes had prejudiced both the minds and ears of the Fathers against them, all their defences and intreaties were rejected. Besides,

Harpalus

Harpalus the chief of the embassy gave still greater offence by the haughtiness of his discourse. He said, “ his master desired, and earnestly too, to be believed on his own word, when he declared in his defence he had neither done or said any thing that could be considered as an act of hostility. But since he perceived pretexts for a war were industriously sought against him, he would defend himself with courage. War was hazardous, and the event of it uncertain.” All the states of Greece and Asia were in great pain for the effects which Perse’s ambassadors and Eumenes’s journey would produce; and as they were certain the latter would exasperate the Fathers, most of them had sent deputies to Rome under different pretexts. Among the rest was one Satyrus, chief of the Rhodian embassy, who did not doubt but Eumenes had joined his state in his accusations of Perse. In consequence, he used all his interest with his friends and patrons to get an opportunity to debate the matter with him in the senate. When he had obtained his desire, he broke out into the most extravagant reproaches against the king, accusing him of having stirred up the Lycians against the Rhodians, and of being more insupportable to Asia, than even Antiochus himself. The Asiatics, so much was Perse favoured, were pleased with this speech; but the senate expressed great dislike at it, and it did no service either to Satyrus or his state. This conspiracy against Eumenes augmented the regard of the Romans for him. They conferred on him the highest honours, made him the richest presents, and gave him a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

CHAP. XV. After the ambassadors were dismissed, Harpalus with all possible expedition returned to Macedonia, and reported to his master, that the Romans at his departure were not indeed making preparations for war, but it was evident they would not delay it long. Perse himself, besides his believing

lieving it would be so, now earnestly desired war, because he thought he had strength sufficient to maintain it. He was most incensed against Eumenes, and therefore begun the war with his blood. He suborned Evander, the captain of his Cretan auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, whom he had formerly employed on like occasions, to assassinate the king of Pergamus. For this purpose, he sent them with recommendatory letters to a lady of great rank and fortune at Delphi, with whom Perseus used to lodge. He knew very well, that Eumenes was going thither to sacrifice to Apollo. The assassins set out with Evander, and went round all places in quest of one fit for their wicked purpose, which was all they wanted. In going from Cirrha* to the temple, before one comes to the houses, was a ruined wall on the left hand of the road, pretty high from the foundations. The passage along this was so very narrow, that two could not go abreast in it; for to the right hand the earth had fallen in to a considerable depth. Behind this wall the assassins hid themselves, and had made steps to the top of it, that they might from thence, as from a rampart, discharge their weapons against the king. First of all from the shore came a great company of the courtiers and guards; but as the way grew narrower, it thinned. As soon as they came to this place, where only one could march at a time, Pantaleon, one of the chiefs of Ætolia, with whom the king was talking, entered it first. Then the assassins started up, and rolled down two huge stones, one of which struck the king on the head, and the other on the shoulder, which stunned him; so that he fell from the road into the ditch, with a shower of stones upon him. All his courtiers and guards fled as soon as they saw him fall, and Pantaleon alone staid and protected him with intrepidity.

CHAP. XVI. The ruffians had but a short way

* The port of Delphos.

to come round the wall and dispatch the king quite; but imagining they had already done their business effectually, they fled to the top of Parnassus with so much expedition, that when one of them, not able to keep pace with them through these steep and pathless mountains, retarded their flight, they stabbed him, lest he should be taken and discover the villainy. The king's friends first, and then his guards and servants, gathered round his body. When they raised him up, they found him stunned with the stroke and quite insensible. However, by a little heat and palpitation of the heart, they found he was not dead; and yet they despaired of his life. Some of his guards pursued the assassins as far as the tops of the mountains, but in vain. As the Macedonians undertook this bold enterprise without having seriously weighed it, so they left it uncompleted in as foolish and cowardly a manner. For the king came to himself; upon which the lords of his court next day put him on board his galley, and carried him to Corinth, and from thence to Ægina. As no person was suffered to come near him, the cure was kept so secret, that it was affirmed in Asia that he was dead. Attalus was more ready to believe it, than became the brotherly love and concord that had subsisted between them. For he conferred with his brother's queen and the governor of the citadel, as if he had already been king. Eu-menes was informed of it; and though he resolved to put it up in silence, yet at first meeting he could not refrain from upbraiding his brother, with being too hasty in making his addresses to his queen.

CHAP. XVII. The rumour of the death of Eu-menes was spread at Rome, when Valerius, who had been sent to inquire into the state of Greece, and watch the motions of Perses, returned from thence. His report agreed exactly with the accusations Eu-menes had brought against the Macedonian. Besides, he brought from Delphi with him Praxo, who had

had entertained the assassins, and one Rammius from Brundisium, who discovered an act of like villainy. This Rammius was the most powerful citizen of Brundisium, and entertained all the Roman generals and ambassadors, with all the foreign ministers, in particular those of Perses. By this means he was well known to Perses, though at a distance. The king, by letters, giving him hopes of a stricter friendship, and great preferments, he made a journey to him. In a short time he became very familiar with him, and had more of his secret confidence than he desired. For the king endeavoured, by promises of great rewards, to engage him “to poison such of the Roman generals and ambassadors, since they usually lodged with him, as he should direct in his letters to him. As he was sensible it would be both difficult and dangerous to effect this, if many were privy to it; and that the event was uncertain, if the means were not efficacious enough to compass it speedily, or of such a nature as to shew no marks of violence; he would give him such a poison as could not be discovered by any symptom, either in the taking, or after.” Rammius, afraid, if he refused, that the experiment would be first tried on him, promised to obey the king. However, he would not return to Brundisium, till he had conferred with the commissioner C. Valerius, who he heard was then at Chalcis. He first discovered the affair to him, and by his order accompanied him to Rome. When he had an audience of the senate, he revealed to them every thing that had passed between him and Perses.

CHAP. XVIII. This additional proof to the information given by Eumenes, hastened the declaration of war against Perses, whom, instead of making preparation for it, like an honourable prince, they saw having recourse to all kinds of secret villainy, assassinations and poisonings. They referred the management of the war to the succeeding consuls. However,

However, at present, they ordered the prætor Sicius, who had the cognisance of causes between citizens and foreigners, to levy troops, lead them to Brundisium, and from thence with all expedition transport them to Apollonia in Epirus, to secure the maritime towns, that the consul, who should get Macedonia for his province, might have a safe station for his fleet, and landing for his troops. Eu-menes, who had been kept some time at Ægina under a difficult and dangerous cure, went to Pergamus, as soon as he could with safety; and there, besides his former hatred, being spirited on by the recent instance of Perses's villany, made all possible preparations for war. In the mean time, ambassadors arrived at his court from Rome, to congratulate him on his having escaped so great a danger. As the Macedonian war was deferred till next year, all the prætors had set out for their provinces, except those for Spain, Junius and Lucretius. They teased the senate with repeated petitions for a supply of troops, till at length they obtained 3000 Roman foot and 150 horse, with 5000 foot and 300 horse from the allies. These they carried with them into Spain.

CHAP. XIX. In the same year, as the consul Postumius by an exact survey had recovered to the public a great part of the Capuan lands, which private persons had possessed themselves of without a title, M. Lucretius, a plebeian tribune, passed a law, empowering the censors to let them out; the which not having been done for many years, after the taking of Capua, had left private persons at liberty to indulge their avarice, by seizing lands which no body possessed. The Macedonian war being now concluded on, though not declared, while the senate with impatience expected to see what kings would join them, and what would take part with Perses, ambassadors arrived from Ariarathes with his only son then a boy. They said, "Their master
had

" had sent his son to be educated at Rome, in
" order to accustom him from his infancy to the
" Romans and their manners. He humbly beg-
" ged, that he might not only be under the inspec-
" tion of private persons, but that the state would
" take him under their protection and guardian-
" ship." This embassy was very acceptable to the
Fathers, who ordered the prætor Sicinius to furnish
the young prince lodgings for himself and retinue.
The Thracians also, who were at variance amongst
themselves, sent deputies to ask an alliance and friend-
ship with the Romans. It was granted them, with
a present of 2000 ases of brass to each of the depu-
ties. The senate were overjoyed at the alliance with
this people, who lay on the back of Macedonia. But
that they might be satisfied of the inclinations of the
states of Asia, and the islands, they dispatched Ti.
Claudius Nero, and M. Decimius, with orders to
go to Crete and Rhodes, to renew the former al-
liance, and at the same time discover whether Perseus
had been tampering with them.

CHAP. XX. While the state was thus anxiously
expecting the new war, a column built of the beaks
of ships by M. Æmilius, whose colleague was Ser.
Fulvius, in the first Punic war, was thrown down
from the very foundation by a thunder-storm in the
night. This was looked on as a prodigy, and laid
before the senate. The Fathers referred it to the
haruspices, and ordered the decemvirs to consult the
Sybilline books. The decemvirs declared that the
city should be purified, supplications and prayers
made to the gods, the larger sacrifices offered, both
in the Capitol at Rome, and the promontory of Mi-
nerva in Campania, and that, as soon as possible,
games should be celebrated in honour of Jupiter
O. M. All these were performed with great care.
The haruspices answered, that the prodigy was a
good one, portending the enlargement of the Roman
territories, and the destruction of their enemies; in-
asmuch

asmuch as the storm had only beat down beaks which were the spoils of enemies. But accounts of other prodigies increased their superstitious fears. It was reported from Saturnia, that it had rained blood there for three days. At Calatia an ass was foaled with three feet, and a bull with five cows struck dead at once by lightning. At Ostia it rained earth. To expiate these, sacrifices were offered, and a supplication with the feriae Latinae celebrated for one day.

CHAP. XXI. The consuls had not yet gone to their provinces, because they would not obey the senate in laying the affair of M. Popillius before them, and the Fathers resolved to pass no decree till it was determined. Besides the resentment against Popillius was augmented by letters he wrote to inform the Fathers, that he in quality of proconsul had fought a second time with the Statiellates, and killed 10,000 of them. This injurious action had made all the other Ligurians rebel. Then the senators not only inveighed against the absent Popillius, who, contrary to all justice, and the law of nations, had made war upon a people that had submitted, and provoked those who were quiet to rebel, but reprimanded the consuls for not going to their provinces. Besides, two plebeian tribunes, M. Marcius Sermo, and Q. Marcius Scylla, emboldened by the unanimity of the Fathers, declared that they would fine the consuls, if they did not repair to their provinces. They also read to the senate a bill which they had prepared in favour of the Statiellates. The purport of it was, that if any of the Statiellates who had surrendered themselves, were not restored to their liberty before the first of August, the senate, after being sworn, should nominate a person to take cognisance of the affair, and punish him who was the occasion of their being in slavery. Then, by order of the senate, the bill was proposed in the comitia. Before the consul set out, Cicereius, prætor of the preceding year, had an audience

dience of the senate in the temple of Bellona. After giving a detail of his exploits in Corsica, he demanded a triumph in vain; however, he triumphed on mount Alba, which was now become a customary thing when it could not be done by public authority. The comitia unanimously confirmed the Marcian law concerning the Statiellates. Then the prætor Licinius moved the senate to nominate a person to put it in execution, and they appointed himself.

CHAP. XXII. At length the consuls set out for their provinces, and received the command of the army from M. Popillius. The latter durst not return to Rome, for fear, as the senate were incensed against him, but the people much more, of taking his trial before a prætor, who had taken the senate's advice how to proceed against him. But to remedy his absenting himself, the tribunes obtained another ordinance, empowering the prætor to pass a final sentence against him, if he did not appear before the thirteenth of November. This dragged him to Rome, where he entered the senate, which was highly exasperated against him. They loaded him with reproaches, and passed a decree, ordering the prætors C. Licinius and Cn. Sicinius to restore to liberty and settle in lands beyond the Po, all the Ligurians who had not been enemies to Rome since the consulate of Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius. By this decree many thousands were restored to liberty, and settled beyond the Po. In pursuance of the Marcian law, M. Popillius twice pleaded his cause before the prætor Licinius; but, on the third hearing, the prætor out of regard to the absent consul, and the intercession of the Popillian family, delayed the trial till the fifteenth of March, when the new magistrates entered into office, that he might not have it in his power to pass sentence, as his commission expired that day. Thus was the law in favour of the Ligurians fallaciously eluded.

CHAP. XXIII. The ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who were then at Rome, had great disputes
in

in the senate with Gulussa, the son of Masinissa. They first complained, " That besides the territory, " on account of which the senate had already sent " commissioners into Africa, to examine on the spot " to whom it appertained, Masinissa two years since " had again possessed himself of above seventy ci- " ties and forts belonging to the Carthaginians by " force of arms. That such usurpations were easy, " to a prince who had no regard to justice, while " the Carthaginians had their hands tied by the " treaty which prohibited them to pass their fron- " tiers with an armed force. That they indeed " might undertake to drive the Numidian out of the " lands he had seized without the imputation of ha- " ving made war out of their own territory; but " they were restrained by another clause not equivo- " cal, which expressly forbid them from making war " on the allies of the Roman people. But not being " able any longer to bear the pride, avidity, and " cruelty of Masinissa, they were to come to implore " the Romans to grant them one of these three " things; either to hear both parties equitably, to " which they were equally allied; or to suffer the " Carthaginians to oppose just and legal arms to the " violence employed to crush them; or, lastly, if fa- " vor had more influence with them than reason " and justice, to declare once for all, to what a de- " gree they thought fit to gratify Masinissa with the " dominions of others. The senate would at least " be moderate in their liberality, and know what it " gave; whereas the Numidian observed no other " rule than that dictated by his ambition. That if " they obtained any of these three points, and had " since the peace granted them by Scipio committed " any fault that had drawn upon them the indigna- " tion of the Roman people, they themselves might " decree the punishment they deserved. It was more " eligible to be slaves under masters that would at " least afford them security, than to retain a liberty " continually

" continually exposed to the unjust invasions of Ma-
" finissa. That, lastly, it was better for them to
" perish once for all, than to languish out a misera-
" ble life, always exposed to the cruelties of the most
" violent of tyrants." After this speech they prostra-
ted themselves upon the earth with tears in their eyes,
and by their dejection and sorrow excited as much
indignation against the king, as compassion for them-
selves.

CHAP. XXIV. Gulussa was afterwards asked what he had to say to the objections of the Carthaginians, unless he chose previously to acquaint the senate with the reasons for his coming to Rome. The young prince replied, " That it was not easy for him to answer matters, concerning which his fa-
ther had given him no instructions; and that though he should have thought fit to have done that, it would have been difficult for him to re-
ply, not knowing what brought the Carthaginians to Rome, and not being assured they intended to come thither. That their chiefs had met private-
ly in the temple of AEsculapius for several nights,
and then dispatched their ambassadors with secret
instructions. That his father had sent him to re-
quest the senate not to give credit to a people, who
were his enemies as well as those of the Romans,
and who only hated him for his constant and im-
violable fidelity to the interests of the Roman peo-
ple." After the senators had heard the discourses on both sides, and deliberated on the demands of the Carthaginians, they answered, " That their inten-
tion was that Gulussa should return immediately
into Numidia, to tell his father to send ambassa-
dors immediately to Rome, who might answer the
complaints made to the senate against him by those
of Carthage. That out of regard to him they
should, as they had hitherto, do every thing that
appeared reasonable; but that they should grant
nothing to favour contrary to justice. That they
" agreed

“ agreed that both sides should keep possession of what
 “ appertained to them in the country they disputed;
 “ and confine themselves within the ancient limits
 “ without forming new ones. That the Roman peo-
 “ ple, after having overcome the Carthaginians, had
 “ not restored them their cities, with a design to seize
 “ unjustly in time of peace, what they had not taken
 “ from them, as they might have done by the right of
 “ war.” The senate dismissed Gulussa and the Car-
 thaginian ambassadors with the usual presents and
 marks of amity.

CHAP. XXV. About the same time Cn. Servilius
 Cæpio, Ap. Claudius Centho, and T. Annius Lufcus,
 the ambassadors who had been sent to demand satis-
 faction of the Macedonian, and to remoune his al-
 liance, increased the Fathers resentment, which was
 already high enough, by the detail of what they saw
 and heard. “ We saw,” said they, “ nothing but
 “ the greatest preparations for war through all the
 “ cities of Macedon. When we reached the court,
 “ we waited several days for an audience of the
 “ king. At last, after we had despaired of obtaining
 “ it, and set out on our return, we were recalled
 “ from our journey, and introduced to him. We
 “ chiefly insisted on the treaty made with his father,
 “ and after his death renewed with himself, by which
 “ he was prohibited from carrying arms without his
 “ own limits, and from making war on the allies of
 “ Rome.” Then they related in order every thing
 which Eumenes had informed the Fathers of before.
 “ Besides,” continued they, “ we represented that
 “ he had had deputies from the states of Asia assem-
 “ bled for several days at Samothrace. We told
 “ him it was reasonable he should make satisfaction
 “ for these injuries, and restore to Rome and her al-
 “ lies every thing he had usurped contrary to treaty.
 “ Upon this the king at first flew out into a great
 “ rage, not sparing reproaches. He often upbraided us
 “ with the avarice and haughtines of our republic;

" told us that the frequent ambassadors she sent to
 " him were only spies on his words and actions, and
 " that she was not content, except all the world was
 " governed by her nod. At last after having spent
 " himself by loud exclamations, he ordered us to at-
 " tend next day, when he intended to give us an
 " answer in writing. Then we received the fol-
 " lowing. ' I have nothing to do with the treaty
 " Rome formerly made with my father. If I suffer-
 " ed it to be renewed, it was not because I approved
 " it, but because I thought it my interest to put up
 " with every thing on my first mounting the throne.
 " If Rome desires to make a new treaty with me,
 " she ought first to settle the terms, and resolve that
 " it be on honourable conditions ; and let her take
 " care of her own interests, as I will of mine.'
 " Then he turned to go out of the room, and all his
 " courtiers begun to follow. Upon that we renoun-
 " ced his alliance and friendship. This stopt him in
 " a great fury, and with an audible voice, he ordered
 " us to quit his dominions in three days. Thus we
 " took our leave, having met with no civil or ho-
 " spitable treatment, either at our arrival, or during
 " our stay." After this the Thessalian and Ætolian
 ambassadors had an audience. The senate, in order
 to know what generals they would have for this war
 as soon as possible, wrote to the consuls, desiring
 which ever of them best could, to come to Rome to
 hold the elections.

CHAP. XXVI. The consuls this year performed
 nothing memorable or to the glory of the republic:
 For as the Macedonian war was impending, it was
 thought most for her interest to mollify and appease
 the exasperated Ligurians : deputies arrived from Issa,
 and raised great suspicions of Gentius king of Illyri-
 cum. At the same time that they complained of his
 having twice ravaged their country, they informed
 the Fathers that the kings of Macedon and Illyricum
 liyed in the strictest harmony and friendship, and by
 concert

concert made preparations for the war: that the Illyrian ambassadors, who were at Rome, were sent by Perses as spies to discover what passed there. Upon this the senate ordered them to be called. They said their master had sent them to defend him against whatever the Issæans should lay to his charge. Then the Fathers asked how it happened that they had not applied to the magistrates, that they might have received the usual compliment of free lodgings and presents; and to intimate their arrival and business? As they hesitated in their answer, they were ordered to withdraw. The senate did not think proper to dismiss them as ambassadors, since they had not demanded a public audience. So they sent a deputation to inform Gentius, that the Issæans had complained of his having put their country to fire and sword, and to represent to him his injustice in thus injuring their allies. The ambassadors were A. Terentius Varro, C. Pletorius, and C. Cicereius. The deputies that had been sent round among the allied kings, reported, "That they had been with Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy at Alexandria. That Perses had sent ambassadors to solicit them all, but they had firmly adhered to their former alliance, and promised to perform all the commands of the Roman people. They had also gone round all the allied states, and found them all steady, except the Rhodians, who were wavering, and infected by the counsels of Perses." The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to clear themselves from the reports they knew were spread abroad of their state. However, it was resolved not to give them an audience till the new magistrates had entered into office.

CHAP. XXVII. The Fathers did not think proper to defer the preparations for the war. The prætor Licinius was ordered to refit as many of the old quinqueremes, which were laid up in the docks, as could be fit for service, and prepare a fleet of fifty sail.

fail. If he found any difficulty in completing that number, he should write to his colleague Memmius to refit all the ships in Sicily, and send them with all expedition to Brundisium. He was ordered also to levy as many enfranchised persons and Roman citizens as would man twenty-five fail, and Sicinius to procure as many allies as would man an equal number. The same prætor received orders to demand 8000 foot and 400 horse from the Latins. A. Attilius Serranus, prætor of the former year, was pitched upon to receive these troops at Brundisium, and transport them into Macedonia, and Sicinius to have them ready for that purpose. The prætor Licinius by order of the senate wrote to the consul C. Popillius, to order the second legion which was the oldest in Liguria, with 4000 Latin foot and 200 horse, to be at Brundisium by the thirteenth of February. With this fleet and army Sicinius was ordered to act in the province of Macedonia till a successor should arrive; for that purpose he was continued in command another year. All the senate's orders were executed with care and dispatch. Thirty-eight quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks, and L. Porcius Ladinus was ordered to carry them to Brundisium. Twelve more were sent from Sicily. Sex. Digitius, T. Juventius, and M. Cæcilius were sent into Apulia and Calabria to provide provisions for the fleet and army. When all was ready, the prætor Sicinius quitted the city in his military robe, and arrived at Brundisium.

CHAP. XXVIII. Towards the end of the year, the consul C. Popillius returned to Rome, but later than the senate had appointed: for they had ordered him, as so great a war was impending, to come and hold the elections as soon as possible. For this reason, the Fathers did not give him a favourable audience when he gave them a detail of his exploits in Liguria in the temple of Bellona. They loudly called out from all sides, why he had not restored to liberty those Ligurians, whom his brother had so injuriously

juriously oppressed? The comitia were held on the day appointed by edict, twelve days before the calends of March, and the fasces were transferred to P. Licinius Crassus, and C. Caſſius Longinus. Next day C. Sulpicius Galba, L. Furius Philus, L. Canuleius Dives, C. Lucretius Gallus, C. Caninius Rebilus, and L. Villius Annalis, were elected praetors. The provinces for which these praetors were to draw lots, were the two jurisdictions in the city, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and the Fathers reserved one lot to be at their own disposal. The senate ordered the consuls elect, on the very day they should enter upon office, to offer the larger sacrifices, and implore success to the Roman arms in the war the state was then meditating. The same day the senate ordered the consul C. Popillius to vow games to Jupiter the greatest and best of beings, and to offer presents at all the shrines, if the republic should continue in the same state for ten years. Agreeable to this decree, the consul vowed the games in the Capitol, and to make a present of such a sum as the senate should appoint. Lepidus the pontifex maximus dictated this vow in presence of not less than 150 persons. This year two public priests died, L. Aemilius Papus, keeper of the sacred books, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus a pontiff, who had been censor the preceding year. The latter made a miserable exit. He received advice, that one of his two sons, who were serving in the Ligurian war, was dead, and the other lying at the point of death. Grief and fear overwhelmed his mind at the same time; and when his servants entered his bedchamber in the morning, they found him hanging by a rope. It was the common opinion, that he had been mad ever since his censorship, and it was believed, that Juno Lacinia had deprived him of his senses through rage at his having spoiled her temple. M. Valerius Messalla was chosen decemvir in room of Aemilius, and in that of Fulvius, Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus,

nobarbus, who in truth was too young to be chosen a priest.

CHAP. XXIX. In the consulate of P. Licinius and C. Cassius, not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and states both in Europe and Asia, had their eyes turned upon the war between the Romans and Macedonians. Eumenes was actuated by an ancient hatred to Perses, and still more by the recent attempt to sacrifice him at Delphi. Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to remain neuter, and to wait the event. He flattered himself that the Romans would not insist on his taking up arms in their favour against his wife's brother, and he hoped, if Perses were victorious, he would easily suffer himself to be swayed by the intreaties of his sister. Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, besides, having promised the Romans aid, inviolably adhered to the fide espoused by Eumenes, after he had contracted affinity with him. Antiochus conceived thoughts of possessing himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the minor king, and the cowardice and indolence of his guardians. He imagined, he had found a plausible pretext for making war on that prince, by disputing Cœlo-Syria with him, and flattered himself, that the Romans, employed in the war of Macedonia, would not be any obstacle to his ambitious designs. In the mean time, he had offered the senate and their deputies by his ambassadors all his forces. Ptolemy, through the weakness of his age, was not in a condition to dispense of himself. His guardians prepared for the war with Antiochus to secure the possession of Cœlo-Syria, and promised the Romans every thing for the war with Macedonia. Masinissa aided the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to have sent his son Misagenes to this war. His political views, according to the different events of this war, were, if the Romans should be victorious, to remain in the state he then was without going further, because the Ro-

mans

mans would never suffer him to reduce the Carthaginians to extremities. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which then supported Carthage, was worsted, he assured himself of the conquest of all Africa. Gentius, king of Illyricum, had only rendered himself more suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which side to take; and it seemed that he would take part either with the one or the other, rather as occasion should induce him, than by any concerted design. And, lastly, Cotys of Thrace, king of Odryse, had declared openly for the Macedonians.

CAP. XXX. Such were the dispositions of the kings with respect to the war between Perses and the Romans. As to the free states and cities, the multitude almost every where, who usually take to the worst side, inclined to that of the king and the Macedonians. The inclinations of the principal men of the cities were in a manner divided into three classes. Some so servilely favoured the Romans, that they lost all credit and authority with their fellow-citizens for so blind a devotion; and of these, few were swayed by the justice of the Roman government, the major part regarding only their own interest, convinced, that they should have credit in their cities only in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was those who were absolutely devoted to the king: some, because their debts and the bad state of their affairs made them desire a revolution, not believing it possible to subsist without it; the natural vanity of others determined them to side with the multitude, who had openly declared in favour of Perses. A third class, and this was the most prudent and judicious, if it had been absolutely necessary to take either side, and they at liberty to chuse their master, would have preferred the Romans to the Macedonian: but they desired still much rather, if it had been possible, that neither of the two powers should much augment their

their strength by the reduction of the other, and that retaining a kind of equality and balance, they should continue at peace with each other; because in that case one of the two taking the weak states under its protection, which the other might be for oppressing, would render their condition much more secure. In this indetermined state they considered, as from a place of safety, the dangers of those who had joined either with the one or the other. On the day the consuls entered upon their office, they, in pursuance of a decree of senate, offered the larger sacrifices in all the temples in which the lectisternium was usually spread for the greatest part of the year. After they knew by the presages, that the immortal gods had accepted their prayers, they reported to the senate, that the victims were favourable, and their prayers for success in the war had been graciously heard. Besides, the haruspices answered, "that the new enterprise they were about should be begun with all speed; for the gods pro-
" mised victory, triumph, and the enlargement of
" the Roman dominions." The Fathers pronounced the following decree. "May our design prove
" fortunate and auspicious to the Roman people.
" Let the consuls with all expedition desire the co-
" mitia assembled by centuries, that since Perse,
" son of Philip, and king of Macedon, has, con-
" trary to the treaty made with his father, and since
" his death renewed with himself, taken up arms
" against our allies, laid waste their lands, and sei-
" zed their cities, and formed a design to make war
" upon us, having for that purpose prepared arms,
" troops, and a fleet, to order a war to be carried
" on against him, if he do not make us satisfac-
" tion." The people consented to this decree when it was laid before them.

CHAP. XXXI. Then the senate passed a second decree, "ordaining the consuls either to cast lots,
" or agree between themselves, for the provinces of
" Italy

" Italy and Macedonia ; that he who should get the
" latter should prosecute the war against Perses, and
" all who adhered to him, if he did not give the
" Roman people satisfaction." It was thought proper to raise four legions, two for each consul. However, the following difference was made in regard to Macedonia ; whereas the other consul's legions consisted each only of 5000 foot and 200 horse, the ancient complement of a legion, those to be levied for Macedonia were ordered to consist each of 6000 foot and 300 horse. Besides, the consul of that province was to have more troops of the allies than usual, viz. 16,000 foot and 800 horse, 600 besides those Sicinius had already carried thither. Twelve thousand foot and 600 horse of the allies were thought sufficient for Italy. Besides, the consul for Macedonia had particular leave to chuse as many of the veteran centurions and soldiers who were not yet fifty years old, as pleased to list voluntarily. On account of the Macedonian war a new regulation was made in regard to the legionary tribunes, by a bill the consuls proposed to the people by order of the senate, that they should not be chosen by suffrages that year, but the consuls and praetors should be left to chuse them at their own pleasure and discretion. The praetors commands were disposed in the following manner. He who was to go where-ever the senate should appoint him, was ordered to repair to the fleet at Brundisium. There he was to review the sailors, and after dismissing those who were not fit for service, to supply their places with enfranchised slaves, taking care, however, that two thirds of them should be Romans, and the other allies. It was also ordered, that the praetors who should get Sicily and Sardinia for their provinces, should send provisions for the armies and fleet from thence ; that they should impose a tribute of two tenths of the corn on those islands, and send them to the army in Macedonia. Rebilus got Sicily ; Philus, Sardinia ;

nia; Canuleius, Spain; Galba, the jurisdiction of the city; Annalis, that of foreigners; and Gallus was to be sent where-ever the senate pleased.

CHAP. XXXII. There was a great wrangling rather than dispute between the two consuls for their provinces. Cassius insisted, "that he was to carry "on the war in Macedonia without drawing lots, "since his colleague could not draw them without "being guilty of perjury. To prevent his repairing "to his province when he was prætor, he swore in "an assembly of the people, that he had sacrifices "to offer on stated days, and in particular places, "which would not suffer him to be absent. Now "he could as little be absent from them in his con- "sulate as he could in his prætorship. However, "if the senate thought fit to shew more regard to "Licinius's ambition when consul, than to the "oath he took when prætor, he would acquiesce in "their pleasure." The Fathers having been asked their advice, and thinking it would be arrogant to deny him the government of a province whom the people had raised to the dignity of consul, ordered the consuls to draw lots. Licinius got Macedonia, and Cassius Italy. Then they drew lots for the legions; the first and third were to be transported to Macedonia, the second and fourth to stay in Italy. The consuls made the levies with more care than usual. Licinius made choice of a great number of veteran soldiers and centurions, and many entered voluntarily, because they saw how much those who had served in the former Macedonian war, and against Antiochus, had enriched themselves. When the legiary tribunes called the centurions according to their rank, twenty-three of them who had been principiili, appealed to the plebeian tribunes. Two of that college, M. Fulvius Nobilior and M. Claudius Marcellus, referred them to the consuls, alledging, "That the cognisance of such matters "properly belonged to those who had commission "to

" to make levies, and carry on wars." Their colleagues insisted, " That they would judge appeals brought before them, and give the injured party redress."

CHAP. XXXIII. Accordingly the affair was brought before the tribunes, and the consuls appeared with the centurions, and M. Popillius, a man of consular dignity, to plead their cause. However, the consuls demanded that the affair should be debated before an assembly of the people; and accordingly it was called. Here Popillius, who had been consul two years before, spoke in favour of the centurions, representing, " That these officers, besides having served their legal number of campaigns, were worn out with age, and numberless fatigues one on the back of another. However, they did not refuse still to serve the republic. All they asked was, not to be put in ranks inferior to those they served in last." The consul Licius ordered the decree of senate to be read. It first empowered him to make war on Perses, and next to levy for that service as many veteran centurions as he could, without exempting any one, except he was above fifty years of age. Then he conjured them not to obstruct the legionary tribunes in making the levies for a new war so near Italy, and against so powerful a king; nor hinder the consul from assigning each officer the rank in which he could do the state greatest service. And in case any doubt arose, to refer it to the senate.

CHAP. XXXIV. After the consul had spoke what he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of the centurions who had appealed to the tribunes of the people, desired permission of the consul and those tribunes to speak a few words to the assembly; which being granted, he thus began. " Romans, my name is Sp. Ligustinus, of the tribe Crustumina, and country of the Sabines. My father left me an acre of land and a small cottage, where I was born and

“ and educated, and where I now live. As soon as
“ I was fit to marry, he gave me his brother’s
“ daughter to wife. She brought me no portion,
“ but liberty, chastity, and a fecundity that would
“ suit the greatest families. We have six sons, and
“ two daughters both married. Of my six sons four
“ have taken the manly gown, and the two others
“ still wear the praetexta. I first bore arms in the
“ consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius, and
“ served two years as a private soldier in the army
“ sent into Macedonia against king Philip. The
“ third year T. Quinctius Flamininus, for a reward
“ of my courage, made me centurion of the tenth
“ company of the hastati. When Philip and the
“ Macedonians were vanquished, and the army
“ brought back and disbanded in Italy, I entered a
“ volunteer for Spain, under the consul M. Porcius
“ Cato; and that general who is a more severe judge
“ of merit than all the generals now living, as they
“ well know who have served under him and other
“ generals, deemed me worthy to be placed at the
“ head of the first manipule of the hastati. I again
“ became a private volunteer in the army sent against
“ Antiochus and the Aetolians, and it was in this
“ war that Manius Acilius made me first centurion
“ of the first company of the principes. After that
“ king was driven out of Europe, and the Aetolians
“ reduced, we were brought back to Italy, and I
“ continued two years in pay. Then I served two
“ campaigns in Spain, the first under Flaccus, the
“ second under Gracchus. Among others Flaccus
“ carried me back to attend his triumph, as one who
“ had distinguished himself by his valour; and then
“ at the desire of Gracchus I returned to the pro-
“ vince. In a few years I have been four times
“ primipilus, and been rewarded four and thirty
“ times for my valour by my generals. I have re-
“ ceived six civic crowns, I have served two and
“ twenty campaigns, and am above fifty years old.
“ Though

“ Though I had not served out my term of years in
“ the field, though my age did not exempt me, yet
“ Licinius, being capable of substituting four of my
“ sons in my stead, I should well deserve to be ex-
“ cused from farther service. But in all that I have
“ said, I have no view but to shew the justice of my
“ cause. For the rest, as long as those who make
“ the levies shall judge me in a condition to bear
“ arms, I shall not desire to be exempted; the le-
“ gionary tribunes shall place me in what rank they
“ think fit; that is in their power; my part is to
“ take care that no one excel the in courage; and I
“ do not fear to call for witnesses of it on this occa-
“ sion, both the generals under whom I have served,
“ and all my fellow-soldiers. As to you, centurions,
“ who are in the same cause with myself, though
“ you as well as I have appealed to the tribunes of
“ the people, however, since during your youth you
“ never opposed the authority of the magistrates and
“ senate, I should think it were consistent at your
“ years to shew yourselves obedient to the senate and
“ consuls, and think any post honourable, that
“ will enable you to render the commonwealth
“ service.”

CHAP. XXXV. When Ligustinus had done speaking, the consul, after having given him the highest praises, carried him from the assembly to the senate. Public thanks were given him in the name of that august body, and the legionary tribunes as a reward of his valour made him first centurion of the first legion. The rest of the centurions dropt their appeal, and readily answered at the levy. That the magistrates might the sooner set out for their provinces, the feriae Latinae were celebrated on the first of June. When that festival was over, the prætor Lucretius, having sent before all necessaries for the fleet, set out for Brundifium. Besides the armies levied by the consul, the prætor Galba was ordered to raise four legions with their full complement of foot and horse to guard

the city, and to chuse out of the city four legionary tribunes to command them. Besides, he was to send to the Latins for 15,000 foot and 1200 horse. This army was to march where-ever the consul should think proper. Besides the army of Roman citizens and allies granted to the consul Licinius, the senate at his request gave him commission to levy foreign troops; 2000 Ligurians, as many Cretan archers as that country would furnish when demanded, and Numidian horse and elephants. For this purpose L. Postumius Albinus, Q. Terentius Culleo, and C. Aburius were sent ambassadors to Masinissa and the Carthaginians. And to Crete were sent A. Postumius Albinus, C. Decimius, and A. Licinius Nerva.

CHAP. XXXVI. About the same time ambassadors arrived from Perses. As the senate and people had declared war against their king and the Macedonians, it was not thought proper to admit them into the city. So they had their audience in the temple of Bellona, and made the following speech: "Our master is astonished to see your troops sent into Macedonia. If it was possible to prevail with the senate to recall them, Perses would make what satisfaction the senate pleased for the injuries done the allies, if they complained of any." Sp. Carvilius, who had been sent for the purpose out of Greece by Sicinius, was present in the senate. He accused Perses of having taken Perrhaibia and several cities of Thessaly by force, and of other injuries which he had either already done or was preparing to do. The ambassadors were ordered to give a direct answer to these. As they hesitated, saying they had no farther instructions than what they had delivered, they were ordered to tell their master, "That the consul Licinius would soon arrive with his army in Macedonia, and if the king resolved in earnest to make satisfaction, he might send ambassadors to him. But he needed not send any more to Rome,

as far

" for they would not be granted a passage through Italy." Licinius was appointed to order them to quit Italy within eleven days, and send Sp. Caecilius to guard them till they should embark. These were the transactions at Rome before the consuls set out for their provinces. By this time Sicinius (who, before his magistracy was expired, had been sent to the fleet and army at Brundisium) landed in Epirus with 5000 foot and 300 horse, and incamped near Nymphæa* in Apollonia. From thence he detached the legionary tribunes with 2000 men to seize the castles of the Dassaretae Hyrians, upon their own solicitations for garrisons to secure them against the incursions of the neighbouring Macedonians.

CHAP. XXXVII. A few days after the five commissioners sent into Greece, Q. Marcius, A. Atilius, P. and Ser. Cornelii Lentuli, and L. Decimius landed at Corcyra with 1000 foot, which they divided among them to guard them in the several states they were to visit separately. Decimius was sent to Gentius king of Illyricum, with orders to sound him, and if he saw him inclined to an alliance with the Romans, to persuade him to take part in the war. The Lentuli went to Cephallenia in order to cross over to Peloponnesus, and take a circuit round the coast of the western sea before winter. Marcius and Atilius were to go round Epirus, Ætolia, Thessaly, and then to visit Boëotia and Eubœa. After that they were to cross over to Peloponnesus, where they appointed to meet the Lentuli. Before they set out from Coreyra, they received letters from Perses, demanding the reason, why the Romans had sent troops into Greece, or seized the cities there. They did not think proper to send him an answer in writing; they only told his messenger by word of mouth, that it was for the defence and security of these cities. The Lentuli went their circuit through Peloponnesus, exhorted all the states without excep-

* Now Capo Pali, near the Aoës.

tion to assist the Romans against Perses, with the same good-will as they had formerly done in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. However, they observed that the assembly murmured at their speech. The Achæans expressed their resentment, because they, who from the very beginning of the first Macedonian war had been firmly attached to the Romans, and avowed enemies to Philip, were on no better footing than the Messenians and Æleans, who had served against the Romans under Antiochus, and lately, when they were incorporated in the Achæan body, had complained of being delivered to the victorious Achæans, as the reward of their conquest.

CHAP. XXXVIII. Marcius and Atilius, having assembled a diet of the Epirotes at Gitanæ *, a city about ten miles' from the sea, were favourably heard. The Epirotes sent 400 of their youth to guard the Orestans, who had thrown off the Macedonian yoke. From thence they went to Ætolia, where they tarried only a few days, till a new prætor should be chosen in room of the former who was dead. Having conferred that office on Lyciscus, who had given evident proofs of his attachment to the Romans, they next went to Thessaly. Thither repaired deputies from Acarnania and the exiled Bœotians. They ordered the former to tell their constituents, “ That they now had a fair opportunity to make amends for their former faults, when, deceived by the promises of Philip first and then of Antiochus, they had borne arms against the Romans. If they experienced the clemency of the republic when they ill deserved it, they might now experience her munificence by their good services.” They reproached the Bœotians with the alliance they had entered into with Perses. When they laid the blame on Ismenias the head of one of the factions, and represented, that some cities had been drawn into it contrary to their inclination, Marcius smartly replied, “ That shall

* Of Chaonia, between Oricum and Panormus.

“ soon

"soon appear; for each city shall have an opportunity to clear itself apart." The diet of Thessaly was met at Larissa. That nation had ample subject of thanks to the Romans to whom they owed their liberty; and the commissioners were under no less obligations to them for having so vigorously assisted Rome, first against Philip, and then against Antiochus. The mention of their mutual services, inspired the multitude to decree whatever the Romans pleased. When this diet was broke up, envoys arrived from Perses, relying on the union and hospitality between Philip and Marcius's father. In consequence they first put him in mind of that, and then asked an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, "That indeed he had heard his father talk of the friendship and hospitality between him and Philip, and that the remembrance thereof had induced him to undertake his present commission. As to the conference, he would not have delayed it a moment if it had been convenient for him. But as soon as he could he would send couriers to advertise the king when to meet him near the Peneus at the foot of mount Omolus * on the road to Dium."

CHAP. XXXIX. Perses, who had retired from Dium to the remotest parts of his dominions, conceived some sparks of hope, on the news of Marcius having said, that he had undertaken his commission out of regard to him. A few days after they repaired to the place appointed. The king was attended by a great train of his courtiers and guards. The deputies retinue was as numerous; for a great multitude followed them from Larissa, as did all the deputies, who had repaired thither, through a desire of carrying home certain accounts of what they should hear pass there. Besides, people had a great curiosity to be present at this interview between an illustrious king and the deputies of a people lords of the universe.

* Part of the Pelion; it commanded Thebes in Phthiotis.

They stood some time in view of each other, divided by the river, and sent several messages backwards and forwards, while each refused to pass the river first. Perseus thought deference was due to the majesty of a crowned head, and the Romans imagined the preference was due to the dignity of the Roman name, especially as Perseus desired the interview. But Marcius removed the difficulty by a jest. " My surname," said he, " is Philip; the younger ought to come to the elder, and the son to the father." Upon this the king willingly condescended to pass the river. He thought proper to pass with his whole train. But the ambassadors insisted that only three should come with him, or if he brought all his retinue he should give hostages, that no violence should be committed during the conference. He gave Hippias and Pantaucus, his principal favourites whom he sent on the deputation to Marcius. Neither were they demanded so much as a pledge of the king's fidelity, as to shew the allies, upon what dishonourable footing the Macedonian treated with the ambassadors of Rome. The salutation on both sides was very friendly and civil, not at all like that of enemies. Then they seated themselves on chairs set on purpose.

CHAP. XL. After a short silence Marcius said, " I am sensible, Perseus, that you expect, that we should give you an answer to the letter you wrote to us at Corcyra. In them you demand a reason, why we deputies come with armed guards, and why we put garrisons in every city. If we should make no reply to this, I am afraid you would impute it to haughtiness; and if we inform you of our real motives, it will be too grating to your ears. But since the infringer of treaties must be brought to reason either by remonstrances or force of arms, and as it would be agreeable to me that any other person rather than myself should be commissioned to make war on you, so let the consequence

“ sequence be what it will, I will expostulate with
“ you in the same severe manner I would do with
“ a friend; like physicians, who administer bitter
“ pills for the more certain recovery of their pa-
“ tients. The senate thinks, that ever since you
“ came to the crown, you have only taken one step
“ of the many you ought; you sent ambassadors to
“ renew the league, and even this they think had
“ better been left undone, than violated as soon as
“ renewed. You have driven Abrupolis, the friend
“ and ally of Rome, out of his dominions. You
“ gave the assassins of Artetus a retreat in your
“ kingdom; and, to say no more, expressed a mali-
“ cious joy at their having murdered a prince, who
“ was the most firmly attached to Rome of all the
“ petty kings of Illyricum. Contrary to treaty you
“ crossed Thessaly and the Malæan territories, and
“ went to Delphi with an army. In violation of
“ the same treaty, you sent aid to the Byzantines.
“ You entered into a secret alliance with the Boe-
“ otians, our allies, and ratified it by oath, contrary
“ to all justice. I chuse rather to ask you, who
“ murdered the two Theban ambassadors, Eversas
“ and Callicrates, on their road to Rome, than ac-
“ use you as the author of their deaths. Whom
“ can we with probability charge with being the au-
“ thors of the civil war in Aetolia, and the murder
“ of their principal men, but your emissaries? You
“ in person laid waste Dolopia. With horror I
“ must mention the person whom king Eumenes
“ accuses of having very near sacrificed him at Del-
“ phi on his return from Rome to his own domi-
“ nions. As for the secret practices, which the
“ Brundisian, who used to entertain the Roman ge-
“ nerals and foreign ambassadors, has revealed, I
“ am certain you were informed of them by letters
“ from Rome, and your envoys at their return gave
“ you an account of them. The only way you had
“ to avoid hearing these things from me, was not
“ to

“ to have asked a reason why we sent an army into
“ Macedonia, and garrisons to the cities of our al-
“ lies. But since you put the question to us, not to
“ have answered at all, would have argued more
“ haughtiness, than to tell you our motives with sin-
“ cerity. In regard of your father’s courtesy to mine,
“ I favour your cause, and wish, you would give me
“ some solid ground to be your advocate with the
“ senate.”

CHAP. XLI. To this the king answered, “ My
“ cause is good, was it to be pleaded before impar-
“ tial judges. But I plead before judges who are at
“ the same time my accusers. I know not whether
“ I ought not to glory in some things objected a-
“ gainst me; part of them I will not blush to avow,
“ and others I may deny in one word, since they
“ are bare words without proof. For, suppose I
“ were this day to be tried by your laws, what could
“ this Brundifian informer or Eumenes object to me,
“ which would not appear to be rather reproaches
“ than real facts? Had Eumenes, who has been
“ guilty of often oppressing both states and indivi-
“ duals, no enemy but me? Could I find no fitter
“ person to execute my treacherous designs, than
“ Rammius, a fellow whom I had never seen before,
“ or was ever like to see again? But I must also be
“ answerable for the Theban envoys, who it is cer-
“ tain perished at sea, and for the murder of Arteta-
“ rus. And as to the latter, I am only charged with
“ granting his assassins a safe retreat in my domi-
“ nions. I will not refuse to plead guilty to this un-
“ just charge, if you will submit to confess, that you
“ are the authors of all the villanies for which the
“ exiles who take shelter in Rome or Italy are con-
“ demned. But if you, and all other nations refuse
“ this, I among the rest will do the same. And far-
“ ther consider, for what end would persons be ba-
“ nished, if no country would give an exile protec-
“ tion? But after all, as soon as you informed me that
“ these

“ these assassins were in Macedonia, I ordered them
“ to quit my dominion, with strict injunctions never
“ to set foot within my frontiers more. Let these suf-
“ fice with regard to the unjust crimes I am forced
“ to clear myself from. I come now to answer the
“ charge brought against me in quality of king,
“ and with regard to the treaty between you and
“ me. If that treaty contains a clause, which does
“ not leave me at liberty to defend myself and my
“ dominions, when attacked by an enemy, I certainly
“ violated it when I carried my arms against Abru-
“ polis the ally of the Roman people. But if I was
“ not tied up by that treaty, and it is warrantable
“ by the law of nations to repel force by force;
“ what ought I to have done, when Abrupolis laid
“ waste my dominions as far as Amphipolis, and
“ carried off many prisoners of free condition, a
“ great number of slaves, and several thousands of
“ cattle? Should I have continued quiet, and suffered
“ him to penetrate as far as Pellæ, and even to my
“ very palace? The war then was just; but you say
“ I ought not to have vanquished and made him suf-
“ fer the common calamities of a conquered people.
“ Why, since I, who was attacked, ran the hazard
“ of suffering the same, how can he, who was the
“ aggressor, complain of his fate? But, Romans,
“ I am not to clear myself in the same manner for
“ having chastised the Dolopes. For supposing they
“ had not deserved it, yet sure I had a right to do
“ as I did; since they are my subjects, and their
“ country part of my dominions, in virtue of a de-
“ cree by which you subjected it to my father. And
“ if I was to give an account of my conduct towards
“ them, not to you, or to allies, but to such as do
“ not approve of acts of cruelty, or unjust commands
“ being imposed even on slaves, could I be thought
“ to have exercised more cruelty upon them than
“ reason and justice required? For they murdered
“ Euphranor, whom I had made governor of them,

“ in

" in so barbarous a manner, that death is the least
" punishment they deserve.

CHAP. XLII. " When I went thence to visit La-
" rissa, Antrona, and Pylleon, being so near I took
" the opportunity of going to Delphi, to discharge
" vows I lay under. Even in this it is objected as
" a crime, that I carried an army with me, with a
" view to seize cities, and leave garrisons in them;
" the very thing for which I complain of you. But
" pray assemble the Greek states through which I
" marched; let any one of them complain of inju-
" ries done them by my soldiers; if they do, I will
" own I had other views than my pretended -sacrifi-
" ces. But I am blamed for sending aid to the Æ-
" tolians and Byzantines, and making an alliance
" with the Boeotians. Be that as it will, I both
" notified and excused these steps frequently to your
" senate, where I met with several opposers, less fa-
" vorable than you, Q. Marcius, my father's an-
" cient friend and guest. At this time Eumenes
" was not come to Rome to accuse me. By gross
" misrepresentations, and wresting the meaning of
" my intentions, he rendered all my steps odious
" and suspicious, and endeavoured to persuade you,
" that Greece could never be free, or enjoy the fa-
" vours you have generously granted it, as long as
" the kingdom of Macedon subsists. But a change
" will happen in the world, and you will soon hear
" some complaining that Antiochus was driven be-
" yond mount Taurus to no purpose; that Asia is
" more oppressed by Eumenes than by him; that
" your allies can never enjoy tranquillity, so long
" as there is a royal court at Pergamus, which, like
" a citadel, commands all the neighbouring nations.
" I am sensible, Q. Marcius and A. Atilius, that
" both your objections and my answers depend on
" the ears and fancies of the hearers; and that it is
" not so material what I have done, or what were
" the real motives of my actions, as in what light
" you

“ you look upon them. However, I am conscious
“ to myself that I am not in fault ; and if I have
“ been guilty of any act of imprudence, it may be
“ corrected and amended by the present rebuke.
“ This I am certain of, that all I have done may
“ still be rectified, and that none of my actions de-
“ serve to be revenged with war and arms : that if
“ you take arms and make war on kings in your al-
“ liance, for such trivial causes, which are scarce
“ worth complaining of, or expostulating about,
“ you are without foundation famous over the world
“ for clemency and a regard to equity.”

CHAP. XLIII. Marcius at that time seemed con-
vinced by what Perles said, and advised him to send
an embassy to Rome, being of opinion he should
use his utmost efforts, and not let slip any opportu-
nity that seemedadvantageous. Nothing remained
but to determine how the ambassadors might go to
Rome with safety. For this purpose it was neces-
sary the king should ask a truce ; and though Mar-
cius earnestly desired it, having had no other view
in the conference, yet he granted it with seeming
difficulty, and as a very great favour. For the Ro-
mans had nothing yet ready for the war, neither ar-
my nor general ; while Perles (had not the vain
hopes of peace dazzled him from seeing his real in-
terest) had every thing ready, and might have en-
tered on action at a time very disadvantageous to his
enemy, and favourable to himself. The truce being
sworn to, the conference ended, and the Roman de-
puties went into Boeotia. The flame had already
begun to break out in that province ; for several ci-
ties separated from the general diet, as soon as they
were informed of the answer the Romans gave their
deputies, that they would soon make it appear what
cities had declared against an alliance with the Ma-
cedonian. Deputies, first from Chæronea, and then
from Thebes, met the commissioners on their jour-
ney, protesting, that they had not been present at
the

the assembly, which had entered into engagements with Macedon. The commissioners gave them no answer then, but ordered them to follow them to Chalcis. But a great commotion broke at Thebes on another account. In the election of prætor, the party that was worsted, as if they had been injured, assembled in great crowds at Thebes, where they passed a decree, forbidding the people to recognise the authority of the new magistrates. The latter had retired into voluntary banishment to Thespia. But the Thebans soon changing their minds, without hesitation recalled them, where they passed an act of banishment against the twelve, who, though private persons, had held the last assembly. After that the new prætor, Ismenias, a man of high birth and great power, passed sentence of death upon them in their absence. For they had fled to Chalcis, and from thence went to the Roman commissioners at Larissa, where they charged Ismenias with making the alliance with Philip. This difference raised a warm dispute; however, both parties repaired to the commissioners, the accused as well as the accusers.

CHAP. XLIV. When they arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of each particular city, by a decree of their own, renounced the league with Perse, and made an alliance with the Romans: this was most agreeable to the commissioners; but Ismenias was for Boeotia's embracing the cause of Rome in a national body. This raised such a storm against him, that, if he had not fled to the tribunal of the Romans for refuge, the exiles and their faction had put him to death. Thebes itself, the capital of Boeotia, was greatly embroiled; some of its inhabitants inclining to join Perse, and others the Romans. Besides, the inhabitants of Coronea and Haliartus came to Thebes to maintain it firm to the league they had made with Perse. But the heads of the city continued so stedfast, and remonstrated, that as far as they

they could judge by the defeats of Philip and Antiochus, the Roman strength and good fortune would prove superior; that the multitude yielded, and passed a decree for cancelling the alliance made with Perse, and sending the authors of it to Chalcis to make satisfaction to the Romans, ordering a deputation to be sent to put their city under the protection of the commissioners. Marcius and Atilius received those deputies with pleasure, and advised the rest of the cities to send, each separately, envoys to Rome, to renew their ancient alliance. But previous to every thing else they ordered the exiles to be restored, and by a decree of their own condemned the authors of the alliance with the Macedonian. Having thus destroyed the Bœotian league, the thing they most desired, they set out for Peloponnesus, together with Ser. Cornelius, whom they had sent for to come to Chalcis. They met the Achæan diet at Argos, where they only demanded 1000 soldiers to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should arrive in Greece. Marcius and Atilius having ended their business in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter.

CHAP. XLV. About the same time three commissioners, Ti. Claudius, P. Postumius, and M. Junius, were dispatched into Asia, to make a progress round the islands. They exhorted the allies to join the Romans in the war against Perses: the more opulent any state was, the more they laboured to gain them, knowing that the weaker states would be led by the stronger. The Rhodians were looked upon as the people of greatest consequence in every respect, as they were able, besides barely favouring them, to bring a great accession of strength in the war, having then in port a fleet of forty sail, which Hegesilochus, their prætor, had advised them to equip. This man, who was then their chief magistrate, or Prytanes, had by many cogent arguments prevailed with them to lay aside all thoughts of joining with the kings,

whose interests they had often espoused in vain, and maintain their alliance with the Romans, who were the only people in the world to be relied on, either for strength or fidelity. "A war with Perseus," says he, "is on the point of breaking out, and the Romans will expect to see us send them the same assistance by sea, that we furnished them against Antiochus and Philip. We will be hurried and obliged to equip it in haste, at the time it ought to put to sea, if we do not now begin to fit out the ships, and levy sailors to man them. Besides, we ought to be more expeditious, that by actions we may efface the prejudices Eumenes raised in the Romans with respect to our fidelity." Excited by these arguments, they equipped and manned a fleet of forty sail, which they shewed the Roman commissioners at their arrival, that it might be evident they did not wait for their exhortations to join in the war. These commissioners contributed greatly to conciliating the affections of the Asiatic states. Only Decimius returned to Rome without effecting any thing, and even suspected of having taken bribes from the princes of Illyria.

CHAP. XLVI. Perseus, having retired after the conference into Macedonia, sent ambassadors to Rome, to settle the terms of peace begun with Marcius. He also sent envoys with circular letters to Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of them was the same with that of those he sent to all the cities of Greece, "That he had had an interview with the Roman commissioners." The Roman objections and his answers were placed in such a light in these letters, as to make it appear he had had the better in the conference. His envoys to Rhodes besides added, "That they were confident their master would have peace; for, by the advice of Marcius and Atilius, he had sent ambassadors to Rome. But if the Romans persisted in making war contrary to treaty, it was then the business of the Rhodians to exert all

“ all their credit and power to restore peace. But if
 “ their mediation should be without effect, then they
 “ were to take care that one people should not in-
 “ gross all the might and power of the whole world.
 “ As this concerned all other states, so in particular
 “ the Rhodians, who excelled them all in dignity and
 “ power. If no regard be had to any other but the
 “ Romans, your power will become dependent, and
 “ yourselves slaves.” The letters and speech of the
 envoys were heard with attention, but were not pre-
 valent enough to make the Rhodians change their
 minds ; for the better party now began to sway eve-
 ry thing by their authority. Accordingly this answer
 was given them by decree, “ That they earnestly
 “ wished for peace ; but in case of war, they begged
 “ the king neither to expect or ask any thing of them
 “ that might be prejudicial to their ancient alliance,
 “ which they had obtained with Rome by many and
 “ signal services both in peace and war.” The en-
 voys on their return from Rhodes went round the ci-
 ties of Boeotia, Thebes, Coronea, and Haliartus, who
 seemed to have been drawn off from their alliance
 with Perses, and joined the Romans against their
 wills. They made no impression on the Thebans,
 though they were exasperated against the Romans,
 for having condemned their chiefs, and restored their
 exiles. The Coroneans and Haliarti, from their
 inbred affection to the king, sent deputies into Ma-
 cedonia, to beg a garrison to defend them against the
 tyranny of the haughty Thebans. The king told
 their deputies, “ That the truce he had made with the
 “ Romans tied him up from sending them a garrison.
 “ However he advised them to defend themselves a-
 “ gainst the injuries of the Thebans in such a man-
 “ ner, as not to give the Romans cause to use them
 “ with rigour.”

CHAP. XLVII. Marcius and Atilius, at their re-
 turn to Rome, reported their commission in the Ca-
 pitol. “ We glory,” said they, “ in nothing more,

“ than in having over-reached Perseus in concluding a
“ truce, and flattered him with the vain hopes of
“ peace. For he was so well and we so ill prepared
“ for the war, that he might have seized all the ad-
“ vantageous posts, before we could transport our
“ army into Greece. By the truce we have gained
“ time for the republic to make the necessary prepa-
“ rations, while he will be no forwarder than he
“ was. We have by artful address disunited the bo-
“ dy of the Boeotians in such a manner, that it will
“ be impossible for them ever after to join the Ma-
“ cedonian with general consent.” The majority of
the senate approved of their prudent conduct: but
the old senators who had been educated in the an-
cient honest principles, declared, “ They saw no-
thing Roman in the conduct of the deputies.
Their ancestors, relying more on true valour
than stratagem, did not conquer the nations by
ambushes and battles in the night; or by feigned
retreats, and then returning to surprise the enemy
off their guard. They used openly to declare
war, before they entered upon it; nay, often na-
med the spot in which they were to terminate it
by dint of sword. From the same virtuous princi-
ple, they informed Pyrrhus of the physician who
laid snares for his life, and delivered up to the Fa-
lisci the wretch who had betrayed their children.
These were true Roman manners, not the fraudu-
lent cunning of Carthaginians, or artifices of the
Greeks, who reckoned it more glorious to over-
reach an enemy, than conquer him by open force.
Indeed artifice sometimes succeeded better for the
present than valour; but he alone could be said to
be for ever vanquished, who was obliged to confess
that he was conquered in a just and pious war, not
by fraud or chance, but by force of arms, fairly
tried in the field.” Thus spoke the old senators,
who could not relish these modern maxims of policy.
However that party, which preferred the useful to
the

the honest, carried the approving of Marcius's embassy, and that he should be sent back with a convoy of quinqueremes into Greece, to complete what he had begun, and do every thing he should judge for the interest of the republic. They likewise dispatched A. Atilius to seize Larissa in Thessaly, fearing lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perse should, by sending a garrison to that important place, become master of the capital of the country. Atilius was ordered to get 2000 men for this expedition from C. Sicinius. At the same time P. Lentulus, who had returned from Achia, was ordered with 300 Italians to Thebes, that the Romans might be masters of Boeotia.

CHAP. XLVIII. After taking these precautions, and though the war was determined upon, yet the senate gave audience to Perse's ambassadors. They repeated almost the same reasons, which their master had urged at the conference. In particular they endeavoured to clear the king of the foul attempt he was accused to have made upon Eumenes, but without being able to convince the Fathers, the fact being too notorious to be palliated. The rest of their speech consisted of humble intreaties. But the senate heard them with minds that could be neither convinced or mollified. They were ordered to quit Rome directly, and Italy within a month. After that the consul Licinius, who had got Macedonia for his province, was ordered to appoint the rendezvous of his army as soon as possible. The prætor Lucretius, who was to command the fleet, set out from the city with forty quinqueremes, for it was thought proper to keep several of the ships that had been refitted, to be employed in several uses near the city. This prætor detached before his brother Lucretius in a quinquereme, with orders as soon as he had been joined by the ships the allies were obliged to furnish, to meet the fleet at Cephallenia. The latter having got one trireme from the Rhegians, two from the Locrians,

Locrians, and four from the Veliates, he coasted along Italy, and doubling the farthermost cape in Calabria, got into the Ionian sea, and landed at Dyrrachium. There he found ten barks belonging to that port, twelve to the Issæans, and fifty-four to Gentius, king of Illyricum. Pretending he believed they had been got ready only to serve the Romans, he carried them all away, and in three days arrived at Corcyra, from whence he sailed immediately to Cephallenia. The prætor C. Lucretius set sail from Naples, and in five days entered the port of Cephallenia, where he lay for some days, to land the troops, and wait for the transports.

CHAP. XLIX. About that time the consul Lici-nius, after having offered his vows in the Capitol, set out from the city in his military robe. This ceremony of a consul's departure was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people; but more especially on an important war, and against an enemy formidable for valour or fortune. Besides many individuals who might come out of compliment to the consul who sets out, the citizens are attracted to this sight by their curiosity to see the general to whose conduct and courage they confide the fate of the republic. Anxious thoughts occur then to their minds concerning the success of the war, which is various and uncertain. They represent to themselves, "The defeats which have happened through the ignorance and temerity of generals; and, on the contrary, the victories which have been gained by their valour and good conduct. What mortals," say they, "can know the mind or fate of the consul, who is upon the point of setting out? and whether we shall see him return with his victorious army, and ascend in triumph to the same Capitol from whence he departs, after having offered in it his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy will not have that cause of rejoicing?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians, that of Philip, who, among

mong other exploits, had rendered himself famous by the war he had made with the Romans, highly exalted the reputation of Perses, against whom the consul was marching; and every body was sensible, that, from his ascending the throne, an approaching war had been universally expected. Full of these thoughts the citizens in crouds conducted him out of the city. Two legionary tribunes, C. Claudius and Q. Mucius, who had both been consuls, went to serve under him; with three other illustrious young Romans, Publius Lentulus, and two called Manlius Acidinus, one the son of Marius, and the other the son of Lucius. The consul repaired with them to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and having passed the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphaeum in the country of the Apollonians.

CHAP. L. A few days before, Perses, being assured by his ambassadors at their return from Rome, that it was in vain to hope for peace, held a grand council. Opinions were divided in it; some believed it necessary, either to pay a tribute, if required, or to cede some part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it: in a word, to suffer, for obtaining peace, all that might be suportable, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire ruin. That if part of his dominions were left him, time and occasion might produce favourable conjectures, which might enable him, not only to recover all he should have lost, but render him the terror of those who now made him tremble. The majority were of a very different opinion; they maintained, "That if he ceded ever so little, he might lay his account to lose his whole kingdom soon. It was neither money nor tracts of lands that the Romans wanted. But they knew that all human things, especially the greatest kingdoms and states, were subject to many revolutions. They had broken the power of the Cathaginians, and set up

" up over their heads, and in their neighbourhood, a
 " potent monarch. They had driven Antiochus and
 " his posterity beyond mount Taurus. There was
 " no longer any kingdom, but Macedonia, capable
 " of giving the Romans umbrage, because, being
 " situated in their neighbourhood, it could, on the
 " first blow they might receive, resume its pristine
 " vigour, and revive in its kings the authority of
 " their predecessors. He ought now to consider,
 " whilst matters were not come to extremities, whe-
 " ther, by ceding different parts of his dominions one
 " after another, he would see himself at length stript
 " of his whole power, driven out of his kingdom,
 " and obliged to ask the Romans permission, in Sa-
 " mothracia, or some other island, to pass the rest of
 " his days in contempt and misery; or whether he
 " would chuse, by taking arms for the defence of
 " his fortunes and glory, like a brave man to ex-
 " pose himself valiantly to whatever fate the gods
 " might ordain in respect to him; or in case he
 " should be victorious, to deliver the universe from
 " the yoke of the Romans. Would it be more sur-
 " prising for him to drive them out of Greece, than
 " that they had driven Hannibal out of Italy? It
 " would be the highest disgrace for Perses, after ha-
 " ving defended his kingdom with valour, against a
 " brother who had unjustly disputed it with him,
 " meanly to give it up to strangers, who were for
 " depriving him of it. That, lastly, though peace
 " were preferable to war, all the world agreed,
 " there was nothing more shameful than to give up
 " empire without resistance, and nothing more glo-
 " rious than to have left no means untried for retain-
 " ing it."

CHAP. LI. This council was held at Pella, in
 the ancient palace of the kings of Macedonia.
 Since you judge thus, said Perses, let us make war,
 and pray the gods to be propitious to us. At the
 same time he sent circular letters to all his generals,

to assemble their troops at Cittium *, a city of Macedonia. He himself, after sacrificing 100 victims to Minerva, the patroness of the descendants of Hercules, repaired to that place with all his guards and court. Thither all the Macedonian and foreign troops were already arrived, and had incamped without the city. He drew them all up under arms in the plain. They amounted in all to 40,000 men, one half of which were phalangites. Hippias the Berecean † commanded them. There were also two bodies, picked out for their strength and youth, who were armed with little bucklers, and also called legions by the Macedonians. At the head of these were Leonatus and Thrasippus of Eulyestus. 3000 other soldiers armed with the same bucklers were commanded by Antiphilus of Edessa. The rest of the army, to the number of about 3000 Pæonians ‡; Paroreans §, Partrymonians †, subject to Thrace, and Agrians ‡, with several Thracians, had been levied and armed by Didas the Pæonian, who had murdered the young prince Demetrius. He had also 2000 Gauls under the command of Asclepiodotus, 3000 native Thracians from Heraclea of Sintium, commanded by a general of their own, as many Cretans under command of Sufus from Phalaearna ‡‡, and Syllus from Gnossus, and 500 Greeks of different nations, commanded by Leonidas the Lacedæmonian. He was said to be descended from the kings of Macedonia, and had been condemned to banishment by a full diet of the Achæans, for keeping a correspondence with Perses. Lastly, he had a company of about 500 men, partly Boeotians, partly Aetolians, commanded by Lyco an Achæan. All

* Cittium stood above Theffalonica, between the Verataser and the Castaldus.

† Berea, a city of Emathia. ‡ Originally Thracians.

§ Their country lay in the north part of Macedon, and was surrounded with mountains.

‡ Near the Strymon. ‡‡ In the east of Thrace.

↔ Contarini, on the west of Crete.

these auxiliaries of different countries and nations composed a body of about 12,000 men. He had also drawn together 3000 Macedonian horse. Cotys, son of Seuthas and king of the Odrysæ, joined him with 1000 choice cavalry, and the same number of foot. His whole army consisted of 39,000 foot and 4000 horse. It is sufficiently certain, that no king of Macedonia ever had so numerous an army, except that which Alexander the Great led into Asia.

CHAP. LII. Twenty-six years had now passed since peace had been granted Philip at his request. During all this time Macedonia had enjoyed great tranquillity, and produced a numerous race, the greatest part of which were now fit for service. The slight encounters they had with the neighbouring Thracians, rather exercised than wore them out, and kept them constantly inured to arms: by this means it came to pass, that every thing was ready for the war, which Philip first, and Perseus next projected against the Romans. This whole army moved into the plain, not with so much regularity as at an exact review, but that they might not seem to have merely stood under arms. However, armed as they were, the king assembled them. He himself ascended a throne with his two sons on each hand. The eldest of them, named Philip, was really his natural brother, and only his son by adoption; but the second, named Alexander, was his german son. Then exhorting his troops to behave like brave men, he laid before them the injuries which the Romans had done his father and himself.
“ As to my father,” said he, “ they forced him by
“ all kinds of indignities, to have recourse to arms,
“ but death surprised him amidst his preparations for
“ the war. As to myself, they sent at the same
“ time ambassadors to my court, and troops to seize
“ the cities of Greece. By a fallacious conference
“ under pretext of renewing the peace, they amused
“ me

“ me a whole winter in order to gain time to make
“ their preparations. Their consul is now coming
“ with two legions, consisting each of 6000 foot and
“ 300 horse, with an equal number of allies. When
“ all the auxiliaries sent them by Eumenes and Ma-
“ finissa are arrived, they will not amount to more
“ than 7000 foot and 200 horse. Now I have in-
“ formed you of the strength of the enemy, confi-
“ der yourselves, how much you are superior in
“ number and quality to undisciplined troops, hasty-
“ ly raised for this very war, whereas from your in-
“ fancy you have been trained to arms, being exer-
“ cised and inured by many wars. Suppose the Ro-
“ mans are assisted by Lydians, Phrygians, and Nu-
“ midians, I have still Thracians and Gauls, most
“ warlike people. They have no other arms but
“ what their beggarly troops furnish for themselves ;
“ but you Macedonians have yours out of my ma-
“ gazines, where they were laid up by the care and
“ at the expense of my father for many years. They
“ are at a great distance from their provisions, and
“ all they get is exposed to the hazard of the seas ;
“ but, beside the produce of my mines, I have laid
“ up money and corn for ten years. Every neces-
“ sary that could be bestowed by the bounty of the
“ gods, and care of a king, the Macedonians have
“ in the greatest plenty. You must shew the same
“ martial ardour that your ancestors did, when, after
“ having subdued all Europe, they passed into Asia,
“ and with their swords opened a passage into parts
“ of the world till then unknown, and did not stop
“ their conquest till they came to the Red sea, and
“ found no more people to conquer. But indeed
“ the question is not now about extending our do-
“ minions to the utmost limits of India, but fortune
“ hath declared a trial of skill for the possession of
“ Macedonia. The Romans made war upon my
“ father under the specious pretext of delivering
“ Greece. But now they avowedly seek to enslave
“ Macedonia,

" Macedonia, that they may have no king in their
 " neighbourhooc, nor leave arms in the hands of a
 " people famed for warlike exploits. For these you
 " must deliver up to these haughty lords with your
 " king and kingdom, if you do not resist with vi-
 " gour, but submit to whatever they please to com-
 " mand you."

CHAP. LIII. During his discourse, frequent hums of applause were heard, but at these last words they raised such a noise, while some shewed their indignation, some uttered menaces, and other exhorted the king to entertain the best hopes, that he was obliged to break off his speech. So he only added an order for them to be in readiness to march, as he was informed the Romans were already advancing from Nymphæum. When the assembly was dismissed, he went to give audience to the deputies of the Macedonian cities. Each of them came to offer to contribute what sums they were able, and promise to furnish provisions for the war. The king thanked them, but would not accept their offers, saying he had sufficient of both in his own stores, except carriages for the great quantity of weapons and machines of war, and the baggage of the army. Then he marched all his troops to Eordæa *, and incamped next day at a lake called Begorrites †. Next day he advanced to Ellimea ‡, on the banks of the river Haliacmon ||. After this, having passed the Cambunian + mountains by a narrow defile, he came to a province called Tripolis, from three cities in it, Azorum, Pythium, and Doliche. These cities hcsitated some time, because they had given hostages to the Larissæans ; but overcome by their pre-

* A city of Mygdonia.

† Unknown.

‡ On the w^c of Macedon, on the borders of Pelagonia and Tripolis.

|| Divides Thessaly and Macedon, and then falls into the Thermaic gulf.

† They divide Macedonia propria and the Deuropes, from Pelasgiæ in Thessaly.

sent fears, they at length submitted. Perseus used them very graciously, not doubting but the Perrhaebians would follow their example; and indeed their capital opened its gates on his first approach without hesitation. But he was obliged to besiege Cyretiae, whose inhabitants running furiously to their gates, repulsed a considerable part of his troops the first day, but the second he attacked it with all his forces, and before night they submitted.

CHAP. LIV. The next town he came to was Mylæ, so strongly fortified, that its inhabitants, imagining it impregnable, became quite audacious. They were not content with shutting their gates against the king, but even insulted him and his Macedonians. This incensed him to such a degree that he attacked it with more vigour, and they thereby despairing of pardon made a more obstinate resistance. In consequence, it was attacked and defended for three days with great bravery. The Macedonians, having numbers sufficient to relieve their detachments, found little difficulty in continuing the assault; but the besieged being obliged to defend their walls day and night without respite or relief, were quite spent not only with wounds, but want of sleep and uninterrupted fatigue. On the fourth day the scaling-ladders were applied on all sides, and the gate attacked with greater vigour. The besieged being driven from their walls, ran to the gate, and made a sally. But as this step was the effect of unadvised rage rather than of confidence in their strength, as they were but few and fatigued, the enemy soon made them fly, and entered their gate pell-mell with them. Thus the town was taken and rifled. Such persons of free condition as survived the slaughter, were sold for slaves. After Perseus had sacked the greatest part of the city, he decamped and came to Phalanna, and the next day to Gyrtion. As soon as he heard that Ru-

fus and Hippias, prætor of Thessaly, had thrown themselves into the latter with a garrison, he passed it without attempting to besiege it. Then he surprised Elatia and Gonnus, while their inhabitants were in a consternation at his sudden approach. Both these cities, but particularly the latter, stand in the entrance to the valley of Tempe. Therefore he left a strong garrison of horse and foot in it, and fortified it with a triple ditch and rampart. He himself marched to Sycurium*, where he resolved to wait the arrival of the enemy. At the same time he issued orders to his army to forage in the enemy's territories which lay round it. For it stands at the foot of mount Ossa, and facing to the south, has the plains of Thessaly before it, and Macedonia with Magnesia behind it. Besides these advantages, it had a fine air, and abounded with springs of running water.

CHAP. LV. During this time the Roman consul, in order to lead his army into Thessaly, crossed Epirus, where the ways were easy enough. But when he had entered Athamania, the rough and almost impracticable country did not permit his making long marches, and with great difficulty he arrived at Gomphi. If Perse had taken his time to have advanced in order of battle to meet an army newly raised, and of which both the men and horses were enfeebled by fatigues, the Romans themselves confessed, that they could not have fought him, without exposing themselves to an inevitable defeat. When Licinius saw that he had reached Gomphi without fighting, besides the joy of having got safe through so dangerous a passage, he began to entertain a contempt of an enemy who knew so little how to take his advantages. When he had finished his sacrifices, and distributed provisions to his troops, he staid a few days to refresh his men and beasts. Being informed the Macedonians over-

* In Magnesia near Thessaly.

ran Thessaly, and plundered the lands of their allies, as he found his troops sufficiently recovered of their fatigues, he marched towards Larissa, and incamped on the banks of the river Peneus, about three miles from Tripoli. Eumenes at this time arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: the fourth, named Philetærus, was left at Pergamos for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with 4000 foot and 1000 horse. They had left 2000 foot at Chalcis under Athenæus. Some troops also arrived from all the states of Greece, but so inconsiderable that they have been forgot. The Apolloniates sent about 300 horse and 100 foot, and the Ætolians about one troop, which was all their country could produce. Likewise all the Thessalian cavalry, which incamped separately, and did not exceed 300. The Achæans sent 1000 foot, mostly Cretans.

CHAP. LVI. About the same time the prætor C. Lucretius, who commanded the fleet at Cephallenia, ordered his brother Marcus to sail to Chalcis above Malea, while he himself on board a trireme went to the gulf of Corinth to prevent the motions of the Bœotians. As he was infirm, he made but slow progress in his voyage. Marcus hearing, on his arrival at Chalcis, that P. Lentulus was besieging Haliartus, he sent him orders, in the name of the prætor, to raise the siege. That lieutenant, who had undertaken that siege with the Bœotian youth of the faction which sided with the Romans, abandoned the enterprise. However, the place was immediately invested again. For Marcus sat down before it with 10,000 Italian marines, and 2000 Pergamenians under command of Athenæus. As they were on the point of attacking it, the prætor arrived from Creusa. About the same time the allies ships arrived at Chalcis, two Carthaginian quinqueremes, and two triremes from Heraclea of Pontus, four from Chalcedon, the same

number from Samos, and five quadriremes from Rhodes. As there was no reason for keeping a fleet at sea, the prætor dismissed these allies. In the mean time Q. Marcius, after having taken Alope, and insulted Larissa, surnamed Cremaste, arrived with his fleet at Chalcis. In this state of affairs in Boeotia, Perse continued, as we have already observed, in his camp at Sycurium, whither having carried corn from all the country round, he sent detachments to ravage the lands of Pheræ. By this means he thought to intercept such Romans far from their camp, as should be sent to succour their allies. But perceiving this did not alarm them, he divided all the booty, except the prisoners, (and indeed it consisted mostly of cattle), among his troops to regale them.

CHAP. LVII. The consul and the king both held a council at the same time, to determine where they should open the campaign. The king, flushed with having been suffered to ravage the lands of Pheræ without opposition, was for marching without loss of time to attack the Romans in their camp. The Romans high ly perceived, that their flowness and delays would lessen them in the opinion of the allies, and reproached themselves with not having aided those of Pheræ. Whilst the consul with the principal officers, Eumenes and Attalus, were deliberating in the council how to act, news was brought them on a sudden, that Perse approached with his whole army. Upon this the council broke up. The signal for the soldiers to stand to their arms was immediately given, and 100 horse were detached with as many foot-archers to view the enemy. Perse, about ten in the morning, finding himself only a short half-league from the Roman camp, made his infantry halt, and advanced with his cavalry and light-armed troops, attended by Cotys, and the other auxiliary generals. The two wings were composed for most part of Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus,

Cassianus, and about 150 light troops, either Myrians or Cretans. The king halted, being uncertain of the enemies number. Then he detached two troops of Thracians, and as many of Macedonians, with two cohorts of Cretans. As the number was very near equal, and neither side detached new troops to their support, the skirmish ended without either party being victorious. Perse returned to his camp at Sycurium. The next day, at the same hour, he again made all his troops advance towards the camp of the Romans. They were followed with carriages laden with water; for there was none for almost twelve miles, and the roads were very dusty, by which the troops might have suffered extremely by thirst, if they should have engaged at their first coming up. The Romans keeping close, and having even made their advanced guards retire within their lines, the king's troops returned to theirs. They did the same thing several days together, in hopes that the Roman cavalry would be detached to harass their rear, and that then, facing suddenly about, they should bring them to a battle at a considerable distance from their camp. And as the king's horse was much superior to that of the Romans, as well as his light-armed troops, he assured himself of giving a good account of them.

CHAP. LVIII. This design not succeeding, the king incamped nearer the enemy, at the distance of about five miles from them. Having drawn up his infantry, at day-break, in the same place where he had usually done so the preceding days, he led all his cavalry and light-armed troops towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which seemed nearer than usual, and raised by a greater number of troops, gave the alarm there; and the first who brought the news could scarce be believed, because, during several days before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning; whereas it was now only sun rise. But the repeated clamours and hurrying of many

from the gate, who declared the same thing, leaving no room to doubt it any longer, the camp was in great confusion. The officers of all ranks repaired to the consul's tent, and the soldiers ran precipitately to theirs. Perse had drawn up his troops on an eminence called Callicinus, at less than five hundred paces from the consul's lines. Cotys, a king of Thrace, commanded the left wing with all the cavalry of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed from space to space along the front. The Macedonian horse, mingled with some Cretan squadrons, formed the right. Milo of Beræza commanded the light troops, and Meno of Antigonia the cavalry and all that wing. On the sides and within the two wings were the household troops, and some chosen auxiliaries of different nations. This corps was commanded by Patrocles of Antigonia, and Didas governor of Pœonia. The king was in the centre with the body of horse that always attended his person; and he posted before him the slinger and javelineers, who might amount in all to about 400, at the head of whom he had put Iores the Thessalian, and Timanoras the Dolopian. The consul having drawn up his foot within his lines, made only his horse and light-armed troops quit them, which he drew up before his intrenchments. On the right wing, consisting of all the Italian cavalry, commanded C. Licinius, the consul's brother; and on the left, composed of cavalry of the Greek allies, M. Valerius Lævinus; both were intermingled with light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with 200 chosen Gallish horse, and 300 Cyrtians belonging to Eumenes. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted a little beyond the left wing. King Eumenes, and Attalus his brother, with all their troops, were formed in the space between the camp and the rear-ranks.

CHAP. LIX. This was the disposition of the horse and light troops of both armies, which were very

very near equal in number. The action began by the slingers and javeliners, who were posted in the front. After this the Thracians, like wild beasts who had been cooped up, and in effect only more fierce, set up a great shout, and fell furiously upon the right wing of the Italians, who, though all veteran and intrepid soldiers, were broken by this violent charge. For the Thracian foot beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, and sometimes cut the hams of their horses, and run them into their sides. Perses in person attacked the Greeks in the centre, put them into disorder at the first charge, and pursued them vigorously. The Thessalians who were posted a little way from the left wing as a body of reserve, and which in the beginning of the action had only been spectators, were a great support to their party when it began to give way. For this cavalry, retiring before the king slowly, and in good order, after it had joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave those who fled and that prince a secure retreat in their ranks ; and seeing the enemy did not pursue them so close, they even ventured to support and reanimate them. The Macedonians, who had broke in the pursuit, were afraid to hazard a new attack with troops that marched in good order. Had the king, who was thus victorious in the battle between the cavalry, improved his success, he had gained a complete victory. For as he was encouraging his men, the phalanx came seasonably to his relief. Hippias and Leonatus, having been apprised of the advantage gained by the cavalry, of their own accord, and not to be wanting to so daring an enterprise, led it out in all haste to join him. Whilst that prince fluctuated between hope and fear in so critical a conjuncture, Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate Eumenes at Delphi, having seen the phalanx advancing with colours flying, ran immediately to Perses, " and exhorted him not to suffer himself to

" to be too far transported by a slight advantage, or
" enter rashly upon a new action unnecessarily, in
" which he would risk all. If he lay still content
" with his first success, it would enable him either
" to conclude an honourable peace, or bring over
" to his party a greater number of allies, to join
" with him in the war, if he should chuse to profe-
" cute it." The king was most inclined to this
opinion. Accordingly he praised Evander, and
sounded a retreat for his cavalry, ordering his in-
fantry to march back to their camp.

CHAP. LX. On the side of the Romans there fell
this day 200 horse, and not less than 2000 foot, be-
sides 200 troopers taken prisoners; whereas Perse
did not lose above 20 horse and 40 foot. The
victors entered their camp full of joy, and especially
the Thracians expressed insolent mirth by singing,
and in a kind of triumph carrying the heads of the
enemies they had killed upon the points of their
spears. But the Romans were in the utmost afflic-
tion for the defeat, and, struck with terror, expected
every moment that the enemy would attack them in
their camp. Eumenes advised them to retire to the
other side of the Peneus, in order to cover their
troops with that river, till they had recovered from
their consternation. The consul looking on this as
a shameful confession of fear, would not at first
hearken to it; but, however, overcome by reason,
he made his troops pass without noise in the night,
and incamped on the other side of the river. Perse
the next day advanced to give the enemy battle:
when he saw them intrenched on the other side of the
river, he confessed the error he had committed the
day before, in not pursuing them vigorously after
their defeat; but that it was still a greater, in having
remained unactive all the night. For without making
any part else move, had he only detached his light-
armed troops against them whilst they were passing
the river with precipitation, he might without diffi-
culty

culty have cut off a great part of their army. The Romans being safely intrenched were no longer afraid, but the loss of their reputation afflicted them extremely. The whole council of war, which the consul had called, laid the blame upon the Ætolians : that it was they who had first begun the confusion and flight, the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the principal persons of their nation had been seen to fly first.

CHAP. LXI. In a full assembly the Thessalians were praised, and their leaders rewarded for their valour. Then the spoils of the enemy were brought before the king ; above 1500 shields, 1000 cuirasses and coats of mail, with a great number of helmets, swords and darts of all kinds. Perses bestowed them among his officers ; to some splendid arms, to some horses, and to others prisoners. These were indeed great losses, but much exaggerated by the king in a speech he made to his army when assembled. “Your late victory is a sure pledge of complete victory in the war. You have routed the best of the enemies troops ; their cavalry, which they boasted of as invincible. This corps consists of their principal youth ; it is the seminary of their senators ; from it they chuse their consuls, whom they afterwards style Fathers ; from it they chuse their generals ; you have just now divided their spoils. You may gain as complete a victory over their legions. They escaped from you by a flight during the night, and like persons shipwrecked, in their panic swam over the Peneus, covering the whole face of the water. But we will pass it in pursuit of those fugitives, with greater ease than they did in their flight ; and as soon as we have got over, we will attack their lines, which we would have been masters of this very day, if they had not fled. Or if their infantry resolve to stand a battle, you may expect the same success against them.

" them, that you had against their horse." The victorious cavalry, who carried the spoils of the enemy on their shoulders, heard this speech with great alacrity, judging of the future by the past. And their infantry, especially the phalanx, fired with emulation, were earnest to signalize themselves, and wished for an opportunity of gaining equal glory over the enemy. Perse, after having dismissed the assembly, set out next day, and incamped at Mopsium *, an eminence in the midway between Tempe and Larissa.

CHAP. LXII. The Romans, without quitting the banks of the Peneus, removed to a more secure post. Here the Numidian prince Misagenes joined them with 1000 horse, as many foot, and 22 elephants. In the mean time Perse held a council of war to deliberate on the state of his affairs ; and as the audaciousness his victory had inspired him with was abated, some of his courtiers ventured to advise him to use the advantage he had gained for obtaining an honourable peace, rather than, relying on vain hopes, precipitate himself into irretrievable misfortunes. They represented to him, " that it was the characteristic of a wise man, and one who deserved victory, to set bounds to his good success, and not rely too much on the present serenity of fortune. That he ought to send ambassadors to the consul, to renew the treaty upon the same conditions on which Flamininus, when victorious, had granted peace to his father Philip. He could not terminate the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle, or hope for a more favourable opportunity of concluding a lasting peace, than when the defeat the Romans had received might render them better disposed to come to an accommodation. And if the Romans, through their natural presumption, should reject an equitable peace, both gods and men would

* In Thessaly.

" be witnesses of Perse's moderation and their obstinacy." The king was always disposed to hear such wise remonstrances, and the majority of his council approved the advice. Accordingly ambassadors were sent to the consul, who assembled a numerous council to give them audience. They said, " they came to ask peace, and promised that Perse would pay the Romans the same tribute that Philip had done, and cede all the cities, and territories, and places which his father had ceded." Thus spoke the deputies. When they withdrew, the council deliberated on their proposal, and the constancy of the Romans prevailed. For it was then their custom, to shew all the assurance of good fortune in adversity, and moderation in prosperity. They concluded on this answer, " that they would grant Perse peace on no other terms, than that he should leave it to the senate to dispose of his person, and all Macedonia, as they should think fit." When the deputies reported this answer, the king's council, who were unacquainted with the Roman manners, were surprised at their obstinacy, and most of them were for making no farther mention of peace, saying, they would soon be obliged to ask themselves what they refused when offered. But Perse was under dreadful apprehensions at this pride, which he saw was founded on a consciousness of their superiority. He thought now of buying a peace, and solicited the consul with offering a more considerable tribute. But seeing he would abate nothing of the demands in his first answer, and despairing of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, resolved once more to try the hazard of war.

CHAP. LXIII. The news of the battle of the cavalry spreading through Greece, discovered the dispositions of that people. Not only those who had sided with the Macedonian, but many of those who lay under the greatest obligations to the Romans, even those

those who had experienced the oppression and pride of the Macedonian kings, received the accounts with pleasure. Indeed the joy of most of them had no better source than mere caprice, which is commonly shewn even at the combats of gladiators, where people always favour the weakest side. About the same time the prætor Lucretius besieged Haliartus in Boeotia. And though the besieged neither had nor hoped for any foreign assistance, except some Corinthian infantry, which had thrown themselves into the place at the beginning of the siege, yet they made a gallant resistance, far above what could have been expected from so small a number. For they made frequent sallies upon the works, beat down the rams, as they advanced, to the ground, with masses of lead, which they worked with counterpoises; and, if it chanced that the enemy, who pushed with the ram, avoided their strokes, they immediately run up a new wall in place of the breach with the rubbish and materials of itself. When the prætor saw the works met with little success, he ordered scaling-ladders to be distributed to every company, in order to make a general assault. He imagined he had numbers sufficient for this, as it was vain, or rather impossible to take the town on that side where it was guarded by a morass. He in person advanced at the head of 2000 chosen men against a breach that had been made in a courtine flanked by two towers. His view was, while he endeavoured to enter the breach, and the besieged ran thither to oppose him, the walls, being without defenders, might be scaled on some other quarter. The inhabitants were ready to give him a warm reception. For having piled up bundles of dry fascines above the ruins, they stood behind them with lighted flambeaux, often threatening to set them on fire, in order to gain time, while they stopt the enemy by the fire to build a new wall within. But an unlucky incident hindered them from putting their design in execution; for all of a sudden there fell so great

great a shower, that they could not easily light the fascines; and when they were lighted, the rain extinguished the fire. In consequence the assailants, by drawing aside the smoking faggots, opened themselves a passage; and as all the besieged had turned to defend this one post, the walls were scaled in several places. In the first confusion the Romans killed all they met, old men and children, without distinction; but the warriors retired to the citadel. Next day, being reduced to despair, they surrendered, and were sold for slaves. They amounted to about 2500. All the decorations, statues, paintings, and rich booty, were carried aboard the fleet, and then the city was razed to the foundation. Then the prætor marched his army to Thebes, and taking it without fighting, restored it to the exiles, and the partisans of the Romans, selling all the opposite faction, and such as favoured Perseus and the Macedonians. After these exploits in Boeotia, he returned to his fleet on the coast.

CHAP. LXIV. During these transactions Perseus continued several days in his camp at Sycurium. When he was informed that the Romans had hastily carried to their camp great quantities of corn in sheaves, and that, in order to come at the pure grain, each soldier cut off the ears with sickles before his tent, by which means all the streets of the camp were full of huge piles of straw, he thought it a fine opportunity to set it on fire. Accordingly he ordered torches, flambeaux, and poles with tow dipt in pitch on their points to be got ready, and marched away about midnight, in order to surprise the enemy at day-break. The advanced guard, astonished at this sudden attack, roused all the rest by their dreadful cries. The signal to arms was instantly given, and in a moment the troops were posted upon the rampart and at the gates to repulse the enemy. Perseus immediately ordered his army to wheel, ordering the baggage to march first and the foot next,

while he in person, with the cavalry and light-armed troops, brought up the rear, expected what really happened, that the Romans would follow to harass him. After a slight skirmish between his and the enemy's light-troops, his infantry and cavalry regained their camp, without the least disorder. As all the forage in the fields round the Roman camp was now gathered, they decamped and came to Cranon* without being annoyed by their enemies. As Perse was at a great distance, and the way betwixt them difficult for want of water, they remained there in great security, when all of a sudden at day-break the king's horse and light troops appeared on an eminence above them, and so occasioned a great alarm amongst them. They had set out from Sycurium about noon the day before, and before day-break left their infantry in a plain a little behind them. The king staid some time upon the hill, thinking to draw out the Roman horse to battle. But seeing they made no motion, he sent a trooper with orders to his infantry to march back to Sycurium, whither he soon followed. The Roman cavalry followed them at a moderate distance, thinking to pick up some stragglers; but when they saw they marched in close order and kept their ranks, they also retired to their camp.

CHAP. LXV. After this the king, displeased with being so far from the enemy, drew nearer, and encamped at Mopsium. The Romans also, after having gathered in all the corn about Cranon, removed to Phalanna †. The king being informed by a deserter, that the Romans were dispersing reaping the corn in the fields without any guard, he set out with 1000 horse and 2000 Thracians and Cretans, and marching with all possible expedition, fell unawares upon the reapers. He took about 1000 waggons ready loaded, with their horses, and about 600 pri-

* Between Epidaurus and the Enipeus.

† Between Larissa and Connii.

soners. Then he detached 300 Cretans to guard the booty to his camp, and having recalled his other horse and foot, who were dispersed slaughtering the reapers, he marched up to the nearest advanced guard of the Romans, imagining he could easily destroy them. It was commanded by a legionary tribune, L. Pompeius, who retired with his men, who were greatly alarmed at the sudden approach of the enemy, to the nearest eminence, in order to save himself by the advantage of the post, since he was inferior in strength and number. Here he formed them in a circle and very close order, that, being quite covered with their bucklers, they might ward off the enemy's darts and javelins. Peises surrounded the hill, ordering one body of his men to advance and come to close fight, and another to throw their darts at a distance upon the enemy. Thus were the Romans incommoded two ways. For those who attempted to ascend the hill hindered them from fighting in close order, and by breaking their ranks to attack them, they exposed themselves to the darts and arrows of the other body. Nothing galled them so severely as a new sort of darts that were thrown with slings, invented during this war; it had a sharp iron head, two hands breadth in length, fixed on a handle half a cubit long, and about the thickness of one's finger. To poise it in its flight, it had three feathers like an arrow, and the sling in the middle had two leathers of unequal capacity. As the slinger swung it about his head, poised in the greatest leather, it flew out with the same force as a bullet. While they were severely galled with this and other kinds of weapons, and so fatigued that they could scarce support the weight of their arms, the king pressed them to surrender, promising them safe protection, and even rewards. But he could not prevail on any of them, and while they were obstinately determined to die, their hopes of relief were unexpectedly revived. For some of the foragers, who had fled to the camp, having informed

formed the consul, that the guard was surrounded, he, moved with the danger of losing 800 men, all Roman citizens, quitted his camp with the cavalry, light troops, and all the Numidian horse, foot and elephants, ordering the legionary tribunes to follow him with the infantry. Having reinforced the auxiliary light troops with the velites, he marched on before, attended by Eumenes, Attalus, and Mischeenes prince of Numidia.

CHAP. LXVI. The courage of the besieged revived as soon as they descried the foremost ensigns of their own army. Perse had at first resolved to rest content with the advantage he had gained in taking and killing several of the foragers, without spending time in besieging the guard. After he had entered upon that enterprise, and saw he was not able to force it, he had thoughts of retiring without having suffered in the least, while he had it in his power; but now, flushed with his success, he waited the approach of the enemy, and dispatched aid du camps to bring up the phalanx. As that corps in haste quitted the camp later than his circumstances required, and were retarded in their march, they would have fallen in with the enemy in a regular disposition, and ready to receive them. The Macedonians entered upon action as soon as he came up. The Macedonians at first sustained the efforts of the enemy, but being inferior in every respect, they were obliged to retire with the loss of 300 foot and twenty-four of the principal men of the king's bodyguards, among whom was Antimachus the general who commanded them. But the way by which they were to retreat, proved more difficult than the battle. For the phalanx marching out in haste when sent for, first met the prisoners and waggons loaded with corn in a defile. Many of these were killed to make way, which occasioned inexpressible disorder on both sides, while none waited till the army was disentangled. The soldiers, seeing no other remedy, made their way

way over the waggons ; and the horses, being pressed in the crowd, made a terrible flouncing. They had scarce freed themselves from this irregular body, when the cavalry that were with the king were driven back upon them. Then nothing was heard but loud clamours to retire, which occasioned as great an alarm, as if somewhat had been ready to tumble on their heads ; insomuch that had the enemy ventured to enter the defile, they might have cut most of them off. But the consul contented with his moderate success in having relieved his guard, returned to his camp. Some authors say, that a great battle was fought that day, and that the enemy had 8000 killed, amongst whom were two generals, Sopater and Antipater, and about 2800 taken prisoners with twenty-seven standards ; and that it was a bloody victory to the Romans, who had above 4300 killed, and lost five colours belonging to the left wing.

CHAP. LXVII. This day's action revived the courage of the Romans, and struck Perses with the greatest consternation. He staid only a few days at Mopsium, chiefly to bury his dead, and then leaving a strong garrison at Gonnii, retired into Macedonia. He left also Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small garrison at Phila *, and ordered him to sound the inclinations of the Magnesians and neighbouring people. As soon as he arrived at Pella, he put his troops into winter-quarters, and went in person with Cotys to Thessalonica. Thither advice was brought them, “ That Atlesbis a petty king of Thrace, and Corragas one of Eumenes's generals, had made an incursion into Cotys's dominions, and taken a country which is called Marene †.” Upon this Perses loaded Cotys with presents, and dismissed him to defend his own dominions. But he gave his cavalry 200 talents, which was only six months pay, though at first he promised them a

* Now Fellon Pieria on the banks of the Pencus,

† Unknown.

whole year's. As soon as the consul received advice that Perseus was gone, he marched to Gonnii, to try if he could make himself master of it. As it is situated in the entrance to the pass of Tempe, it is a strong barrier to Macedon, and gave Perseus an easy entry into Thessaly. The consul quitted the enterprise when he found it impregnable by reason of its natural situation and strong garrison. Then he marched by by-ways into Perrhaebia, took and demolished Malloea at the first assault, and after recovering Tripoli, and several others towns of that country, returned to Larissa. After that he dismissed Eumenes and Attalus, and sent Misageneus with his Numidians into winter-quarters in the nearest towns of Thessaly. He distributed part of his troops through all Thessaly in such a manner that they should both have convenient quarters, and serve as garrisons to the towns. He detached Q. Mucius with 2000 men to overawe Ambracia, and dismissed all his Greek allies, except the Achæans. With part of his army he entered Achaia Phthiotis, where he razed Pteleum, which was abandoned by its inhabitants. The inhabitants of Autrona opened their gates to him. Then he returned to Larissa, which the citizens had abandoned and retired to the citadel, which he was about to storm. But as the Macedonian garrison quitted it first, and left the inhabitants to themselves, they immediately surrendered. Afterwards he deliberated whether he should go and besiege Demetrias, or go into Boeotia, whither he was sent for by the Thebans, who were hard pressed by the Corinthians. Moved by their prayers, he went into Boeotia, because it was more convenient for winter-quarters than Magnesia.

BOOK XLIII.

ABRIDGMENT.

I. *The cautious Cælius forms a scheme of marching his army by land, from Aquileia into Macedonia. The senate stops him.* II. *Complaints from both Spains of the avarice of the praetors.* III. *A colony of persons born of Spanish women to Roman soldiers, to the number of 4000, settled at Carteia. Gaius Gracchus comes to Rome. Perse's exploits during the winter.* IV. *Revolt of the Celtiberians under Olonius the fanatic. Deputies from Greece and other states complain of the cruelty and avarice of Roman governors.* IX. *The defeat of Appius Claudius in Illyricum.* XIII. *Prodigies.* XIV. *The praetors leave the consular armies.* XV. *The behaviour of the censors.* XVII. *The Aquileians petition for more planters.* XVIII. *Perse's actions in Illyricum.* XXIV. *The Vaconian law, regulating the dress and expenses of the women, and prohibiting their being made heirs to estates.*

CHAP. I. During the same campaign, in which the Romans defeated Perse in a battle between their horse in Thessaly, Mucius, whom the consul had detached into Illyricum, by force of arms obliged two opulent cities to surrender. He granted them every thing that belonged to them, thinking by this act of clemency to induce the inhabitants of Carnus *, a strong fortified city, to yield. But when he could neither prevail with them to surrender, nor reduce them by force, that he might not fatigue his troops with taking two cities without reward, he rifled the two he had before left untouched. The other consul Cælius having performed nothing memorable in Gaul, his proper province, undertook a vain enterprise to lead his army through Illyricum into Macedonia. Having begun his march, deputies came from Aquileia to complain to the senate, that their colony being but weak and newly settled, was

* Sante Petronelle in Lower Austria,

not

not sufficiently secured against the fierce people of Istria and Illyricum. Then they begged the senate would take care to have it sufficiently defended. The Fathers asked them, if they would be pleased to have the consul Cassius charged with that business? But they answered, that he had sent his army to Aquileia, in order to march cross Illyricum into Macedonia. The thing seemed at first incredible, and each began to think that he was going to attack Carnus or the Istrians. Then the Aquileians said they could affirm no more upon their knowledge, than that he had given his troops provisions for thirty days, and procured guides, who were acquainted with the ways from Italy into Macedonia. The Fathers immediately expressed their indignation at the consul's daring to leave his own province to go into that of another; thereby exposing his army to new dangers in their march through foreign nations, and shewing so many enemies the way into Italy. They instantly passed a decree empowering the prætor Sulpicius to nominate three senators, who should post as fast as they could after Cassius where-ever he should be, and forbid him to make war on any nation, except that to which the senate had ordered him. Accordingly M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius and P. Marcius Rex, set out. The apprehensions of the senate for the consul and his army, diverted them from the care of fortifying Aquileia.

CAP. II. Then the ambassadors from several people in hither and farther Spain had audience of the senate. They complained of the pride and avarice of the Roman governors, and upon their knees begged of the senate, not to suffer their allies to be more miserably oppressed and spoiled, than if they were enemies. Among other shameful things of which they complained, it was evident, that money had been extorted from them. Upon which L. Caenuleius, to whose lot Spain had fallen, was ordered to appoint five commissioners of senatorial rank, for every

every person of whom the Spaniards could reclaim money that had been taken from them, and grant that people leave to chuse what advocates they pleased to plead their cause. The deputies being called in, the decree of senate was read to them, and they were desired to name their advocates. They named M. Porcius Cato, P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Cn. L. Æmilius Paullus, and C. Sulpicius Gallus. These commissioners begun the prosecution with M. Titinius, who had been prætor of hither Spain during the consulate of A. Manlius and M. Junius. His trial was twice put off, and at the third hearing he was acquitted. A dissension arose between the deputies of the two provinces. Those of hither Spain chose Cato and Scipio, and those of the further Paullus and Gallus for their patrons. The former prosecuted P. Furius Philus, and the latter M. Matienus. Philus had been prætor three years before in the consulate of Sp. Postumius and Q. Mucius, and Matienus two years before during that of L. Postumius and M. Popillius. They were both charged with hainous crimes, and judgment against them was at first suspended. But when the cause came to be heard again; by urging their having retired into voluntary banishment, they evaded making restitution. Philus went to Præneste, and Matienus to Tibur. It was reported, that the patrons refused to prosecute any more noble and illustrious men. What increased this suspicion was, that Canuleius laid aside the inquiry, and made his levies. After this he suddenly set out for his province, to prevent the Spaniards from proceeding in their prosecutions. By this means what was past was forgot, and the senate guarded against the like bad practices for the future, by ordering that the Roman magistrates should receive the corn for their domestic use in kind, and not oblige the Spaniards to sell their corn at what price they pleased, or send deputies into the cities to collect the money.

CHAP. III. Another deputation, but of a different kind, arrived from Spain. They reckoned up about 4000 children of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, who had not been married, and prayed the senate to assign them a city to dwell in. The senate ordered a list of their names to be delivered in to L. Canuleius, and that whomever of them he should infranchise, should be sent to people Carteia on the Ocean: that such of the Cartesians as chose to stay in their habitations, should be numbered in the colony, and have lands assigned them. The privilege of Latium was granted this colony, which was called, *The colony of freedmen*. About the same time arrived from Africa, Gulussa, son of Masinissa, in quality of ambassador from his father, and envoys from the Carthaginians. The young prince having the first audience, mentioned the aids which his father had sent to the Macedonian war, and promised, in return for the favours of the Romans, to supply them with what further they should want. He bade the Fathers beware of being imposed upon by the artifices of the Carthaginians, who had resolved to fit out a large fleet, under pretext of aiding the Romans with it against the Macedonians. But when it should once be ready for action, it would be in their power to chuse their enemies and their allies. Then he begged the senate [not to credit their complaints against Masinissa, which flowed from no other source than their inbred hatred of the Romans, and his father's sincere attachment to them.] "Masinissa," said he, "so strictly observes the articles of the treaty concluded with the Roman senate and people, that he prefers them to his own interest, or rather looks upon it to consist in submitting obsequiously to the authority and orders of the Romans. His principal view is to live in tranquillity; but the artifices of the Carthaginians constantly oblige him to be in arms for the defence either of the ancient dominions his father left

“ left him, or of those which he enjoys by the favour of the Romans. They have either forgot their former defeats, or renewing the memory of them serves only to whet their resentment; for, elated with the great increase of their wealth, during the few years they have enjoyed peace, they are grown insolent, and cannot contain themselves from constantly reflecting on their former power, and trying against their neighbours those forces, by which they will shortly, after having violated the treaty, shake off the yoke of you who vanquished them. In this disposition, while your attention was diverted another way by the Celtiberian war, and other nations of Spain infested the coast of Numidia, they sent Carthalo, general of their auxiliaries, to make an incision on our borders. This officer, under pretext of surveying the limits set his nation, surprised my father's camp in his neighbourhood. While Masinissa lay peaceably, and without offering injury to any person within the district assigned him by your ambassadors, he attacked him, and after killing and taking prisoners many of his men, excited the African peasants who inhabited it to rebel; neither has he yet ceased his incursions and ravages upon our dominions. It is your business, Conscript Fathers, according to your prudence and power, to oppose and check the insults of our common enemy, to take care that that peace, and the presents you have bestowed on my father your ally, be as firm and permanent as his fidelity to you. The gods have given you sovereign authority, our sole glory and greatest ambition shall be to obey your orders, as if they were the commands of heaven.” Then the Carthaginians were introduced, and made the same pitiful complaints which they had made the preceding year. But they could give small proof of the facts they alledged, though it was scarce to be doubted, but Masinissa,

relying

relying on the favour of the Romans, had made several incroachments on their territories, even with the connivance of the senate, who thought it the interest of their state to humble the power of Carthage. The Fathers answered both, that they would soon send commissioners equitably to determine the differences on the spot, and ordered them to cease their hostilities. This however was not the sole view the senate had in sending those envoys. They had orders to observe the state of affairs in Carthage, whose fidelity was always slippery, and especially since the commencement of the Macedonian war had conceived hopes of a change, and was rent into factions. Few of its principal men were in the Roman faction, which was headed by Hanno, surnamed Magnus. A considerable party declared for Masinissa, and were headed by Hannibal, surnamed Pfar. The strongest party were for the commons, under the direction of Hamilcar Samis, and Carthalo. The commissioners, on their arrival in Africa, finding Masinissa in possession of the district in question, acted rather like arbiters than judges, continuing each in what they then held, as if the affair was not ripe for a definitive sentence. But they were surprised to find in Carthage so great plenty of men and wealth; for within the space of twenty years, by the advantage of its situation for trade and the industry of its inhabitants, it had increased so much, that there was not the least vestige of the former wars and siege to be seen. As soon as the commissioners had set out, the comitia met, and transferred the fasces to A. Hostilius Mancinus and A. Atilius Serranus. Then Q. Mænius, M. Recius, and L. Hortensius were elected prætors. The historians now extant have not preserved the names of the other three. The new consul Hostilius got the province of Macedonia, and Atilius Italy by lot. The prætor Recius got the jurisdiction of the city, and Mænius that over foreigners, as Hortensius did the defence

defence of the sea-coast with a fleet. If we may be allowed to conjecture from the consulate of succeeding years, as that honourable office was generally conferred on the praetors of the former, we may reckon Q. Aelius Paetus and T. Manlius Torquatus among the praetors of the present. For in the Capitoline marbles we read of the former being consul with Junius three years after, and the latter with Cn. Octavius five years after. Besides, two years after this Torquatus was joined in commission with C. Popillius Lænas, a man of consular dignity, and C. Decimius, who had been praetor, to terminate the war between Antiochus king of Syria, and the two Ptolemies; an office of so great dignity, that it is scarce credible his name would have been inserted, if he had borne no curule magistracy. In the meantime Licinius consul of the former year, whose unsuccessful encounters with Perses we have related above, spent some part of the winter in Thessaly, but the greatest part in Boeotia. After this he performed no memorable exploit, unless we reckon it glorious, to have taken, while the king was employed at a distance in Macedonia, several cities which he treated with the greatest barbarity, selling the inhabitants, with their effects, for slaves. The cities on the sea-coast met with no better usage from the propraetor Lucretius, and the other officers of the fleet, who greatly oppressed the allies in many respects. When the allies afterwards brought their complaints against the Roman magistrates, the senate did them all the justice in their power, and in the first place ordered the Coroneans, whom Licinius had sold for slaves, to be restored to liberty.

CHAP. IV. Cotys finding Atlesbis, a neighbouring prince, and Eumenes's forces, commanded by Corragus, in possession of part of his dominions, and himself unable to drive them out, especially as the Dardans threatened to fall on him on the other side, he earnestly solicited the aid from Perses,

which was stipulated in the treaty between them. The Macedonian thinking it contrary to his interest to suffer Cotys, who was almost the only prince who faithfully and openly adhered to his alliance, to perish, set out to his aid immediately with several squadrons of horse, from the nearest garrisons, and the greatest part of the phalanx. Having soon routed the enemy, he restored the province of Marenos to its lawful prince. Then he turned his arms against the Dardans, whom he not only restrained from making incursions, but, while they expected nothing less, fell upon their army, killed 10,000, and forced those who survived to retire behind the mountains. By ravaging their country and taking several of their towns, he transferred the terror they had struck into Thrace to their own dominions, and then led back his troops enriched with their spoils into Macedonia. He was afraid, if he staid longer, that he would not be able to stop the Romans, who threatened a descent on the sea-coasts, the places next to Theffaly and Illyricum. About the same time, viz. in the consulate of Licinius and Cassius, we find in the annals, that, at Cassinum, a girl changed her sex, and being looked on as a monster, was, by order of the haruspices, exposed on a desert island without Italy. M. Junius Pennus, prætor of hither Spain, having repaired to his province with a supply of 8000 foot and 450 horse, found the Celtiberians and all the people comprehended in the same league with them, in a ferment, occasioned by the intrigues or fanaticism of one man. Olonicus, or (as others call him) Salondicus, their new general, had excited them to revolt, by giving them assured hopes of victory. This man, who was equally cunning and daring, ran about, like a prophet, brandishing a silver lance, which he pretended to have received from heaven, and so filled the barbarians with his mad chimeras, that, at his persuasion, a greater number of them ran to arms

arms than had ever appeared before. Before the prætor marched against this enemy, he made it his business by all manner of benefactions to prevent the rest of the province from taking arms, and kept them firm in their affection. Then he marched into Celtiberia, and incamped near the rebels. When Sallondicus saw his troops in a panic, on calling to mind their former defeats, and that they had but small confidence in his predictions, he formed a daring enterprise, and becoming the man he had boasted himself to be. After the example of Mucius Scævola, he formed a design of killing the Roman prætor in his camp. He believed it might easily be effected, and if it succeeded, that nothing would be easier than to destroy an army, like a body without a head, deprived of its general; and besides, the astonishing nature of the deed would, by confirming his other predictions, raise him to the chief power among his countrymen. He had good reason to be confident, that as there were so many Spanish soldiers mingled with the Romans, he could not be known by his dress or language, and so might penetrate to the general's tent without being discovered. In consequence, taking with him on this desperate attempt an associate of the same fanatic character, he went in the night to the Roman camp, where, without molestation, he got as far as the prætor's tent. But as he attempted to enter it, the sentinel stabbed him with his lance. His companion met with the same fate. Junius, after escaping this danger, ordered both the villains heads to be cut off, and given to some chosen prisoners to be carried on the points of their spears to their own camp. These, by shewing the heads when they entered the camp, occasioned so great a panic among the rebels, that had the Romans immediately marched to attack their lines, they might have taken them. After that the greatest part of them fled, though some of them were of opinion they ought to send deputies to beg

a peace from the prætor. Many cities, as soon as they heard the news, surrendered. Some cleared themselves by laying the blame on the frenzy of the two seducers, and offered to submit to the punishment they deserved. But the prætor pardoned them. Then he marched to the other cities, who all submitted on his summons, and made a progress through the province, which, though lately in so great a ferment, was now settled in perfect tranquillity. This clemency of the prætor, in subjecting this warlike nation without bloodshed, was the more acceptable to the senate and people, as the consul Licius and Lucretius had behaved with so much barbarity in the war in Greece. The tribunes of the people incessantly inveighed against Lucretius in assemblies, while his friends pleaded in his excuse, that he was absent in the service of the state. But so ignorant were people then of what passed in their neighbourhood, that he was actually at his estate near Antium, and with the money he had extorted in Greece bringing in the water of Loracina to that city. This work cost him 130,000 ales or drachmas. He also adorned the temple of Æsculapius with the paintings which were a part of the spoil. But the deputies from the Abderites diverted the storm of ill-will and infamy from Lucretius upon his successor Hortensius. With tears in their eyes they complained in the senate, "That he had taken and rifled their city. His reason for this inhumanity was, because, when he demanded 100,000 denarii and 50,000 modii of wheat, they had asked time to send deputies to the consul Hostilius and to Rome on that subject. But before they could reach the consul, they received the disagreeable news, that their town was taken, their principal men beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves." The Fathers were shocked at this inhumanity, and passed the same decree in their favour, that they had done in the case of the Coronæans the preceding year,

year, ordering the prætor Mænius to publish it in an assembly of the people. They also dispatched two commissioners, C. Sempronius Blæsus and Sex. Julius Cæsar, to restore them to liberty. These two were also ordered to tell the consul Hostilius, and Hortensius the prætor, that the Abderites had been unjustly attacked ; and it was their pleasure, that inquiry should be made after such of them as were slaves; that they might be restored to their liberty.

CHAP. V. At the same time ambassadors arrived from Cincibilis a Gallish king, to complain of C. Cassius consul of the preceding year, who now served in the rank of legionary tribune under Hostilius in Macedonia. Cincibilis's brother informed the Fathers, that Cassius had ravaged the lands of some people of the Alps, the allies of his brother, carried away a great number of them, and sold them for slaves. Deputies also came from the Carnians, Istrians, and Iapydans to complain, " That Cassius had first extorted guides from them to lead his army into Macedonia ; that they had given him a free passage through their country, imagining he was going to attack another people. But being stopped in the middle of his route, in coming back he had traversed their country, putting all to fire and sword, without any one in it being able to guess at his reason for using them as enemies." The senate desired him to inform his brother, and at the same time told the other deputies that were present, " That the senate had not foreseen the hostilities they complained of, and since they had been committed, they disapproved them. It was unjust to condemn a person of consular dignity unheard. But if, on his return from Macedonia, they would convict him of these crimes, the senate would give them satisfaction." The Fathers were not even content with returning this answer, but sent two deputies to the petty prince beyond the Alps, and three round the other nations,

to inform them of the disposition of the senate. They also sent presents of 200,000 ases of bras to the deputies. To the two brothers in particular they gave two gold chains weighing five pounds, and five silver vases weighing twenty pounds, with two horses richly caparisoned, and grooms to attend them, with horsemens arms and cloaks. They also gave suits of apparel to their slaves and attendants of free condition. Besides, upon their petition, they had leave granted them to buy ten horses, and send them out of Italy. The deputies sent with them beyond the Alps were C. Lælius and M. ~~M~~amilius Lepidus. Those who went to the other nations, were C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blafio, and T. Meminius.

CHAP. VI. At the same time came ambassadors from several states of Greece and Asia. The Athenians were first introduced. They informed the Fathers, "That they had sent all the land and sea forces they had to Licinius the consul and C. Lurectius the prætor. They had not accepted their service, but ordered them to send 100,000 modii of corn. This last order, that they might not be wanting in their duty, they had complied with, though their land was so barren, that they were obliged to import foreign grain for the subsistence of their own people, and were ready to obey any farther commands should be laid on them." The Milesians, without saying they had done any thing hitherto, offered readily to comply with every order of the senate. The Alabandians said, they had built a temple to the city of Rome, and appointed anniversary games in honour of that goddess, that they had brought a present of a gold crown of fifty pound weight * to be placed in the Capitol to Jupiter O. M. with 300 horsemens shields to be given to whoever the senate should direct. Then they begged permission to place the gift in the Capitol,

* 2400 l.

and

and to sacrifice there. After this the Lampacenes brought a crown of gold weighing eighty pound, and observed, “ That though they were subjects of “ Perses, as they had formerly been to Philip, yet “ they had revolted from the Macedonian as soon “ as the Roman army arrived in Macedon. For “ which, and performing every thing the Roman “ generals had directed, they only begged to be re-“ ceived into alliance with the Romans, and that “ in case peace should be made with Perses, it “ should be expressly excepted in it that they should “ not hereafter be subject to him.” The deputies of the other states had a gracious answer. The praetor Mænius was ordered to draw up the instrument of an alliance with the Lampacenes, and then each had a present of 2000 asses of brass. The Alabandians were ordered to carry the shields to the consul Hostilius in Macedonia. Carthaginian envoys also arrived from Africa, and informed the Fathers, that 1,000,000 of wheat*, 500,000 of barley †, were ready shipped to be transported to any port the senate should direct. “ We are sensible,” said they, “ that this present and mark of our affection is far short of what you deserve, and we incline to give; but they had on many former occasions performed the office of good and faithful allies in whatever tended to promote the interest of both states.” Deputies also arrived from Mænissa, promising the same quantity of wheat, with 200 horse, and twelve elephants; and that whatever the senate should farther think necessary for him to do, he would perform as readily, as what he offered of his own accord. The Fathers thanked both the king and the Carthaginians, and desired they might send the aids they had promised into Macedonia to the consul Hostilius. Each of the envoys had a present made him of 2000 asses of brass.

CHAP. VII. Then arrived ambassadors from Crete,

* 350,000 bushels,

† 325,000.

reporting

reporting that they had furnished the consul Licinius with the number of archers he had demanded. But being asked the question, they did not deny, "that a greater number were in Perses's army, than in the Roman." Upon this they were answered, "That if they had prudently preferred the alliance of the Romans to that of Perses, the senate would have answered them like undoubted friends. In the mean time they might desire their countrymen, to take care as soon as possible to recall such of their troops as served under Perses." The Cretans being dismissed with this answer, the Chalcidians were called in. Their first appearance shewed, that they had been forced by the most excessive injuries to send this deputation, as Mictio, the head of it, was so lame of the gout, that he was brought in a chair, and might on that account have pleaded being excused from the office; yet such was their indispensable necessity, that it would not have been sustained. He began with saying, that of all the parts of his body, his distemper left him only his tongue at liberty to deplore the calamities of his country. "He then repeated the services, both ancient and recent, his state had done the Roman generals and armies, even in the war which was actually carrying on against Perses. He afterwards proceeded to the excesses of avarice and cruelty exercised by the praetor Lucretius against the inhabitants of Chalcis; and lastly to those they then suffered from L. Hortensius, who had succeeded him; adding, that after all, were they to be treated with greater inhumanity, they were determined to suffer any thing, rather than join the king of Macedonia. That as to Lucretius and Hortensius, it would have been much more for the advantage of the people of Chalcis, to have shut their gates against them, than to have received hem into their city. For the inhabitants of the cities which had done so, had preserved their liberties and estates:

“ estates : whereas Lucretius, with horrid sacrilege,
“ had plundered their temples, and caused all the or-
“ naments of them to be carried to Antium. That
“ after having deprived the allies of the Roman peo-
“ ple of their property, he had made slaves of their
“ persons ; and if any thing had escaped his avarice,
“ Hortensius, by treading in his steps, had entirely
“ taken it from them. That in the winter, as well
“ as summer, he filled their houses with soldiers and
“ seamen ; so that those unhappy citizens had the
“ grief to see continually in the midst of themselves,
“ their wives and children, people void of shame,
“ humanity, and faith.”

CHAP. VIII. The senate thought it incumbent on them to send for Lucretius, that he might hear all that was advanced against him, and object to it if he could. The reproaches made to his face were still more strong than all that had been said in his absence, and he had two accusers much more powerful and formidable to oppose in two tribunes of the people, who, not contented with inveighing against him in a full senate, exclaimed against him before the people, and, after having loaded him with reproaches, summoned him in form to appear at the tribunal of the people, to answer their accusations. As to the deputies of Chalcis, the prætor Mænius was ordered to tell them, “ That the senate knew “ they had advanced nothing but the truth, in “ speaking of the services they had done the Roman “ people in the present and former wars, and that “ they retained all the gratitude they ought for “ them. As to the injuries they had received from “ C. Lucretius, and at present from L. Horten-
“ firs, they could not suppose that the senate ap-
“ proved them, if they reflected in the least that “ the Roman people had declared war against Per-
“ ses, and before against Philip his father, to de-
“ liver the Greeks from the tyranny of those prin-
“ ces,

" ces, and undoubtedly not with design to draw
 " upon them those oppreßions from the Romans
 " themselves. That the senate would write to L.
 " Hortensius, to signify that they disapproved his
 " conduct he was accused of, in respect to the
 " people of Chalcis; to order him to find out the
 " free persons wh: had been made slaves, and to re-
 " store them to liberty as soon as poffible; and to
 " prohibit him from quartering any soldier or officer
 " of the fleet upon them, except captains of vessels."

Such was the purport of the letters wrote by the senate to Hortensius. The usual presents were made to the deputies, and carriages and other conveniences supplied Mi^ctio, in order to accommodate him to Brundisium. When the day for the appearance of C. Lucretius arrived, the tribunes accused him before the people, and condemned him in a fine of a million of asses of brafs *. All the tribes were unanimous in passing this sentence.

CHAP. IX. Nothing memorable happened in Liguria this year; for the enemies did not move, or the consul march his army into their country. After he was sufficiently satisfied of their peaceable intentions, he disbanded the two Roman legions sixty days after his arrival in his province. He put the Latins into winter-quarters at Luna and Pisa very early in the season, while he with the cavalry took a progres round most of the cities of Gaul. There was no open war any where but in Macedonia; however they had strong suspicions. In consequence, they appointed 80 transports to be sent from Brundisium to C. Furius, the commanding officer, who guarded the island of Issa with two of its own ships. On board the former were ordered to be put 2000 soldiers, which the prætor Mænius, by order of the senate, had levied in the parts of Greece opposite to Illyricum. The consul Hostilius also sent Ap. Claudius into Illyricum, with 4000

* 3229 l. 3 s. 4 d.

foot, to protect the people bordering upon it. But he not content with this detachment, by collecting auxiliaries from the allies, augmented it to 8000 of different kinds, and having traversed all that country, halted at Lychnis *, a country belonging to the Dassaretæ.

CHAP. X. Near it stood the city of Uscana †, the capital of a canton mostly under the jurisdiction of Perses. It had 10,000 inhabitants and a small guard of Cretans to defend them. From thence messengers came privately to inform Claudius, “ That if “ he would draw nearer the city, some persons “ would be ready to betray it to him. That it was “ worth his while: for it had wealth sufficient to “ enrich not only him and his friends, but even his “ troops.” The hopes of gratifying his avarice so blinded him, that he had not the precaution to detain any of the messengers, or demand hostages as a pledge against their acting treacherously; nay he did not send any one to find out the truth, or give the traitors the oaths usual on such occasions. On the day agreed on he set out from Lychnis, and incamped within twelve miles of Uscana. About four in the morning he marched out of his camp, leaving only 1000 men to guard it. The march was irregular in a long broken line, as many of them had lost their way in the night, and in this order did they arrive at the city. As they saw no soldiers on the wall, it increased their negligence. As soon as they arrived within throw of a dart, the inhabitants sallied out at two gates at once. Their shout was seconded by a great noise from the walls, occasioned by the cries of the women, with their striking on brass vessels, and the air resounded with the various shouts of the rabble and slaves. This struck Claudius’s army with so much terror, that they could not sustain the first

* Now Ochrida, in Macedonia.

† On the west of Macedon, to the south of the Deuriopes, and Dassaretæ.

charge of those who had fallen with great vigour. Accordingly, greater numbers of them were killed in the flight than in the field of battle, and scarce 2000 escaped with their general to their trenches. As these were at a great distance, the enemy had the better opportunity of overtaking them who lagged by the way. Neither did Claudio*s* stay in his camp, to collect his men, who were dispersed in the flight, (and which was the only means of saving the stragglers), but instantly marched the remains to Lychnis.

CHAP. XI. Sex. Digitius, a legionary tribune, who had come to Rome to offer some private sacrifices, spread the news of this and other defeats in Macedonia. This alarmed the Fathers, who, to prevent farther and greater disgrace, sent M. Fulvius and M. Caninius Rebilus, to inquire into the state of the war in Macedonia, and to order the consul Hostilius to fix the election of new magistrates to some day in January, and then return himself as soon as possible to Rome. In the mean time they ordered the prætor Recius, to summon the senators from all parts of Italy, to repair to Rome, except such as were absent on the business of the state, and forbid such as were already in the city to remove farther than one mile from it. All this was done agreeable to the senate's order. The consular comitia were held before the twenty-eighth of February, and the fasces were conferred on Q. Marcius Philippus a second time, and on C. Servilius Cæpio. Three days after, C. Decimius, M. Claudio*s* Marcellus, C. Sulpicius Gallus, C. Marcius Figulus, Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Fonteius Capito, were elected prætors. Besides the two jurisdictions of the city, the prætors elect had four other provinces assigned them, Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. About the beginning of March Flaccus and Rebilus returned from Macedonia. They reported, "the advantages Perses had gained that campaign, and
" how

" how much the Roman allies were terrified, at seeing so many cities reduced into subjection by the Macedonian. That the consul's army was greatly diminished by the favour shewn the private men in granting them furloughs. For this the consul blamed the legionary tribunes, and they him." But the Fathers perceived that they made light of Claudius's defeat, because only a few Italians had been slain in it. The consuls elect were ordered to lay a state of the affairs of Macedonia before the senate, as soon as they should enter on their office. This year happened to be leap year, and the intercalary day was inserted the third day after the terminalia. This year also died several priests; L. Flamininus the augur, and two pontiffs, L. Furius Philus and C. Livius Salinator. T. Manlius Torquatus succeeded to Furius, and M. Servilius to Livius.

CHAP. XII. In the beginning of the following year, when the new consuls Marcius and Servilius moved the senate to determine their provinces, the Fathers ordered them either to agree between themselves, or draw lots for Italy and Macedonia. But to prevent all insinuations of one being more favoured than the other, it was thought proper, before the lots should be drawn, to determine the supplies and what else might be necessary for both provinces. For Macedonia they allotted 6000 Roman and as many Latin foot, with 250 horse of the former and 300 of the latter. When these supplies should arrive, as many of the old troops were to be disbanded as would reduce each Roman legion to 6000 foot and 300 horse. No determinate number of supplies was voted for the other consul; he was only to levy two legions, each to consist of 5200 foot and 200 horse. However, he was allowed a superior number of Latins than his colleague, viz. 10,000 foot with 600 horse. Besides these the senate ordered four more legions to be levied, for whatever service should be found to be necessary. The people, not the consuls, had the nomination of

the legionary tribunes. The allies of the Latin name were ordered to furnish 16,000 foot and 1000 horse for the same service. This army was only to be in readiness to march, where-ever necessity should require. Macedonia ingrossed all the cares of the state. For the fleet 1000 enfranchised Romans were ordered to be levied, and as many out of Sicily, whom the prætor who should get that province was to take care to send to Macedonia, or where-ever else the fleet should be. For Spain 3000 Roman foot with 300 horse were decreed as a supply. The number of men in a legion in that province, was also limited to 5000 foot and 330 horse. The prætor who should get that province was likewise ordered to make the Latins furnish 4000 foot and 300 horse for it.

CHAP. XIII. I am not ignorant that in effect of the same irreligion which makes people commonly believe, that the gods give men no forewarnings of future events, few prodigies are now talked of, or mentioned in histories. But for my part, I know not how it happened, that, in relating the actions of the ancients, I fell into the ancient taste, and had a scruple of conscience to judge facts unworthy a place in my annals, which the wisest of our fathers in their several ages imagined to deserve the most serious attention of the state. Two prodigies were talked of this year at Anagnia; a comet was seen in the sky, and a cow spoke, and was kept at the public charge. About the same time the appearance of a great fire was seen in the air at Minturnæ. It rained stones at Reate. In the citadel of Cumæ the statue of Apollo wept for three days. In Rome two sextons reported, the one, that a serpent with a crest had been seen by several people in the temple of Fortune; the other reported two prodigies to have happened in that of Fortuna Primigenia, on the Capitol, that a palm-tree sprung up in the area, and it rained blood for the space of one day. Two other prodigies were rejected,

ed, because they were attested only by private persons; T. Marcius Figulus reported that a palm tree had sprung up in his court-yard. The other happened in the house of one L. Atreus at Frigellæ, a javelin, which he had bought for his son, a soldier, had appeared all in flame for two hours in the day without being consumed. On account of these public prodigies, the decemvirs consulted the Sybilline books, and ordered forty large victims to be sacrificed, and to what gods. They farther appointed a supplication that all the magistrates should order victims on all the altars, which should be also visited by the people wearing crowns. Every thing was performed agreeable to the decemvirs direction.

CHAP. XIV. Then the assembly was appointed for the election of censors. The chief men of the state, C. Valerius Lævinus, L. Postumius Albinus, P. Mucius Scævola, M. Junius Brutus, C. Claudius Pulcher, and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, stood candidates for the office, which the people conferred on the two latter. As there was more than common reason to make the levies with care, on account of the Macedonian war, the consuls complained to the senate, that the younger men refused to list. But two tribunes of the people, C. Sulpicius and M. Claudius, defended the people, saying, " That the difficulty of finding recruits was entirely owing to the consuls themselves; for they would not enlist none against their own inclination. And to convince the Conscript Fathers that it was so, if they pleased, the prætors, who were inferior magistrates, would complete the levies." Accordingly the affair was committed to the prætors by universal consent of the Fathers, but not without flouting at the consuls. To forward the business, the censors published an edict in an assembly of the people, declaring, " That they would appoint a law in inrolling the people, for obliging every citizen to swear, besides the common oath, that he was under forty-

“ six years of age, and should appear to be incorporated in the army according to the ordinance of the censors, C. Claudius and Ti. Sempronius; “ and that as often as levies should be made under any succeeding censors, he should appear at the levies, if he was not already a soldier.” Moreover, as there was a report, that many private men were absent from the army in Macedonia by furloughs for an unlimited time from their officers, they enacted, “ That all the soldiers who had been enlisted in the consulate of P. Aelius and C. Popilius, or succeeding consuls, who were now in Italy, should, after being mustered in their proper tribes, repair to that province within thirty days. That such as were under the tutelage of fathers, or grandfathers, should give in their names to them; for they would inquire into the reasons of their having been dismissed the service, and order such as should appear to have been discharged merely out of favour before the legal time, to be enlisted again.”

CHAP. XV. Besides the men that were raised for a supply, the prætor C. Sulpicius levied four legions, which were completed within eleven days. After that the consuls drew lots for their provinces; which the prætors had done sooner, being obliged to it by the necessity of hearing causes. Sulpicius had got the jurisdiction over citizens; Decimius that over foreigners; Marcellus, Spain; Lentulus, Sicily; Capito, Sardinia; and Figulus, the fleet. The consul Servilius got Italy, and Marcius Macedonia. As soon as the feriæ Latinæ were celebrated, the latter set out for his province. After that his colleague moved the senate to determine which two of the new legions he should lead into Gaul. The Fathers ordered the prætors Sulpicius and Marcellus, to give him which of those they had levied that they pleased. But the consul, taking it ill to be subjected to the will of the prætors, dismissed the senate, and repairing to the

the prætor's tribunal, demanded the two legions agreeable to the senate's decree. The prætors gave him his choice. After that the censors reviewed the senate, and chose M. Æmilius Lepidus a third time president of it. They also expelled seven members. As they discovered by the poll how many soldiers were absent from the army in Macedonia, they obliged them to return to that province. They likewise inquired into the reasons, why each had been discharged the service, and obliged such as they thought unduly dismissed to take this oath; “Thou dost faithfully swear, without mental reservation, “and as far as in thy power, to return to Macedonia, agreeable to the edict of C. Claudius and T. Sempronius the censors.”

CHAP. XVI. In their survey of the equestrian order they acted with great severity. They took the horses from many of the knights. Though this step gave great offence to the order, they added another edict, which increased the odium raised against them. It ran thus. “None of those knights, who, during the censorship of Q. Fulvius and A. Postumius, had farmed the public revenues and voluntary loans, should for the future be concerned in those farms as partners or otherwise.” The old farmers, not being able by repeated complaints to prevail with the senate to limit the censorial power in this affair, at length found a patron in P. Rutilius, a tribune of the people, who resented a personal injury done him by the censors. They had ordered an infranchised citizen, the tribune's client, to pull down a wall in the Sacred street, opposite to the public buildings, because it had been built on a piece of ground belonging to the public. This libertine appealed to the tribunes; but as none of that college, except Rutilius, supported his cause, the censors in public assembly fined him, and sent officers to distrain his goods. This kindled a terrible flame; for upon the farmers of the revenue applying to the tribune,

all of a sudden, without the concurrence of his colleagues, brought in a bill, "for disannulling the leases of the public money granted by C. Claudius and Ti. Sempronius. That they should be farmed out anew, and all orders promiscuously should be free to purchase or contract for them." The tribune fixed the day for the assembly meeting to pass this bill into a law. When the day came, and the censors appeared to hinder the bill from passing, the assembly were silent, while Sempronius was speaking. But Claudius interrupted him, ordering a crier to proclaim silence. Upon this the tribune complained, "That the people had been drawn away from him, and himself affronted," and so flung out of the Capitol, where the assembly was held. Next day he raised a great tumult, and first confiscated the effects of Sempronius, because he had shewn no regard to his intercession, but affronted him in a case where a person had appealed to the tribunes against a fine and attachment of effects. He also appointed a day for Claudius to take his trial, for having called the assembly away from him, and declared both censors guilty of hainous crimes, desiring C. Sulpicius, the city-prætor, to appoint a day for their trial. As the censors willingly agreed, that the people should hear their cause as soon as possible, the day of trial was fixed to the 22d and 23d of September. The censors immediately repaired to the court of the temple of liberty, and having sealed up the public registers, shut their office, and dismissed the slaves who kept them, declared they would enter on no public business, till the people had passed sentence in their cause. Claudius's trial came on first As eight of the twelve centuries of knights, besides many of the first ward, condemned him, the principal men of the city in sight of the assembly laid aside their gold rings, changed their apparel, and went round the people soliciting their favour. But it is said that Gracchus alone induced them to alter their resolutions,

resolutions. For when the people from all sides cried out that he was in no danger, he swore in plain terms, that if his colleague should be condemned, he would not wait their sentence, but accompany him into banishment. By this means in the end eight centuries declared in favour of the criminal. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune dropt the indictment against Sempronius.

CHAP. XVII. The same year, the colony of Aquileia petitioned the senate for a supply of planters. The senate for that purpose ordered 1500 families to be levied, and sent thither under T. Annius Luscus, P. Decius Subulo, and M. Cornelius Cethegus. That year also C. Popillius and Cn. Octavius, the ambassadors who had been sent into Greece, having read the senate's decree first at Thebes, carried it round all the cities of Peloponnesus, ordaining, &c. That none of them should furnish the Roman officers with any thing towards the war, except what the senate should order." This gave the allies assurance, that for the future they would be relieved of the burdensome expenses the Roman magistrates from time to time loaded them with. In the Achaean diet at Argos, they were heard and answered with great civility. Having left this faithful nation in the greatest hopes of future security, they went over to Ætolia. No sedition had yet broke out here; but they lay under the strongest suspicions, and brought many complaints against each other. For this reason the deputies demanded hostages of them, and, without putting an end to the affair, set out for Acarnania. The Acarnanians assembled their diet at Thyrium, to give them audience. Here they also were divided into factions. Some of their chief men demanded garrisons to be put into their cities, to secure them against the frenzy of those who inclined to join the Macedonian. Others declared against this, because it would be putting the same marks of disgrace on cities that were quiet and in

in their alliance, as are the common fate of those of enemies taken by storm. This seemed a very just remonstrance. Then the commissioners returned to the proconsul Hostilius at Larissa; for it was he who had sent them on this busines. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popillius with 1000 men into winter-quarters at Ambracia.

CHAP. XVIII. Perse durst not stir out of Macedonia, for fear the Romans should find an entry into it when defenceless. However, before the hard weather came on, when the deep snow made the mountains of Thessaly impassable, he thought it a good opportunity to break all the hopes and courage of the neighbouring people, and to secure himself against all apprehensions from them whilst he was employed in the Roman war: as Cotys secured him peace on the side of Thrace, Cephalus on the side of Epirus, by a sudden revolt from the Romans, and he had lately subdued the Dardans, he considered that Macedonia was exposed only on the side of Illyricum, which nation was not quiet, but gave the Romans a free entrance into his country, and that if he had once reduced the nearest Illyrians, it might be possible to allure Gentius their king, who had long been wavering, to join him: according'y he set out with 1000 foot, mostly phalangites, 2000 light troops, and 500 horse, and arrived at Stubera *. Here having provided provisions for several days, and ordered the necessary apparatus for sieges to follow, on the third day he incamped at Uscana, the largest city in all the Peneian territories. But before he would begin his attacks, he sent to found the inclinations both of the commanders of the garrison, and of the inhabitants. Besides the Roman garrison there were in the place some brave Illyrian youth. As the answer they returned him did not tend to peace, he sat

* In the country of the Deuriopes, between the Axios and Erionus.

down.

down before it, and endeavoured to take it by a general assault. Notwithstanding his men without interruption relieved each other day and night, some labouring to scale the wall, and others to set fire to the gates, yet the besieged sustained that storm, in hopes that the rigour of the season would not suffer the Macedonians to keep the field long, and that the king would not have so much respite from the Roman war, as to be able to stay. But when they saw the galleries and towers razing, their obstinacy abated. For besides their being inferior in point of strength, they had not a sufficient quantity of corn or other provisions, as they expected nothing less than being besieged. In consequence, despairing of being able to hold out, C. Carvilius Spoletinus and C. Afranius were sent from the Roman garrison to treat with the king, in the first place for leave for their troops to march out with their arms and baggage, and then if they could not obtain that, to obtain security for their lives and liberties. Perseus promised this very fairly; but no promise was ever less faithfully performed. For after desiring them to depart with all that belonged to them, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they were gone, the Illyrian cohort of 500 men, and the Uscanians, surrendered themselves and their city.

CHAP. XLIX. Perseus having put a garrison into Uscana, led away all that had surrendered to Stuberia. They equalled his army in number. There having secured the Romans, who amounted to 4000 men, besides officers, in several cities, and sold the Uscanians and Illyricans, he led back his army into the canton of Penestia to reduce Oeneum *. This city, besides its otherwise commodious situation, was a key to the country of the Labeates †, of which Gentius was then king. But as he was passing by

* Cideriso in Penestia.

† A people of Dalmatia, near Scutari.

a populous castle called Draudacum, some persons well acquainted with that country told him, that if he did not reduce it, Oæneum would be of little use to him ; for Draudacum was more conveniently situated in all respects. Upon his first approach its inhabitants surrendered. He was much elated by this surrendry, which was made sooner than he expected ; and perceiving how formidable his army was, eleven other castles in a like consternation submitted. Against a few of these he was obliged to use force, and all the rest surrendered voluntarily. In them he took 1500 Romans, who had been placed as a garrison to them. Carvilius Spoletinus was of great service to him in his parleys with them, assuring them they would meet with no ill usage. At last he arrived at Oæneum, which he was obliged to besiege in form, as it was better fortified, and had a greater number of youth to defend it, than the rest had. On one side its walls were washed by the Artatus *, and covered on the other by a high mountain. These encouraged the inhabitants to defend themselves. As soon as Perse had finished his trenches, he determined to raise a cavalier on the highest side, by whose height he might command the walls. While it was raising, great numbers of the besieged were taken off by different causes in frequent skirmishes, when they sallied to obstruct the enemy's works, and defend their own walls ; and even those who remained, were rendered useless by uninterrupted fatigue night and day, and by loss of blood. As soon as the cavalier was brought as high as the wall, and the royal cohort, called Victorius, had mounted it, a general assault was made, and the city scaled in many places. They killed all who were arrived at the age of puberty, and imprisoned the women and children ; all the other booty was abandoned to the troops. Then the victor returned to Stubera, from whence he sent Pleuratus, an Illy-

* Unkpown.

rian

rian exile who lived with him, and Aputeus a Be-
rean, ambassadors to Gentius. They were instruct-
ed to give that prince a detail of Perse's exploits
during the summer-campaign against the Romans
and Dardans, with those against the Illyrians in
winter; and to exhort him to make an alliance with
him and the Macedonian nation.

CHAP. XX. These envoys passed mount Scor-
dus*, crossed that part of Illyricum which the Ma-
cedonians had purposely laid waste, to make both
Illyricum and Macedonia inaccessible to the Dardans,
and after great fatigue arrived at the city of Scodra †.
Gentius then resided at Lissos ‡. Thither the en-
voys came, and had a favourable audience. How-
ever, they received an answer to no effect: "That
he did not want inclination to make war on the
Romans; but the principal thing he wanted to
put his desire in execution was money." This
answer was brought to Perse at Stubera, whilst he
was busy selling the Illyrian prisoners. He imme-
diately sent back the same envoys, adding in com-
mission with them Glaucias one of his body-guards,
without making any mention of money, which a-
lone could have induced the poor barbarian to take
up arms. Perse, after laying waste Ancyra ||, led
back his army to Penestæ, and having reinforced
Uscania and all the circumjacent towns with strong
garrisons, returned to Macedonia.

CHAP. XXI. L. Cælius, the Roman governor
of Illyricum, who durst not stir out of his quarters,
while Perse was in that country; as soon as he left
it, made an attempt to recover Uscania; but being
repulsed with great loss by the Macedonian garrison,
retired to Lychnis. A few days after he sent M.
Trebellius, a Fregellan, with a strong detachment
into the canton of Penestæ, to receive hostages from

* Now Maranai, divides Macedonia from Upper Mycia.

† Now Iscodar, in Dalmatia. ‡ Now Alessio, in Albania.
|| At the foot of the Cambunian mountains.

those cities, which had firmly adhered to their alliance with Rome. He also ordered him to go to the Parthini, who had likewise engaged to give hostages, and to demand them of both nations without tumult. The Penestan hostages were sent to Apollonia, and the Parthinian to Dyrrachium, which was better known to the Greeks by the name of Epidamnus. In the mean time Ap. Claudius desiring to wipe off the shame of his defeat in Illyricum, made an attempt on Phanote *, a city of Epirus. Besides a Roman army he brought with him 6000 Athamanians and Thesprotians. However, he did not succeed; for Clevas, whom Perse had left there with a strong garrison, defended it with great bravery. Perse himself set out for Elemais, whence, after reviewing his army, he led it to Stratos at the desire of the Epirotes. Stratos is a city of Aetolia, situate on the Ambracian gulf, near the river Achelous. As the roads were narrow and rugged, he carried with him only 10,000 foot and 300 horse. In three days he reached mount Cettius, which he passed with difficulty by reason of the deepness of the snow; and when he had got over it, he could scarce find ground to incamp in. Wherefore departing thence, because he could not stay, rather than because either the way or season was tolerable, with incredible fatigue, especially to his baggage horse, he got in two days into a camp near the temple of Apollo at Nicæas. From thence after a long march he was stopped by the overflowing of the river Arachthus †. He immediately laid a bridge over it, and after one day's march met Archidamus, chief of the Aetolians, who came to deliver Stratos into his hands.

CHAP. XXII. The same day he incamped on the confines of Aetolia. Next day he came before Stra-

* Near Thesprotia and Chaonia.

† Now the Spægmagmurus, passes through Epirus, and falls into the gulf of Larta.

tos, and incamped on the river Achelous. Here he expected that the Ætolians would have met him in crowds to put themselves under his protection ; but he found their gates shut, and that the very night of his arrival they had admitted a Roman garrison under command of C. Popillius. The principal men, who, overawed by Archidamus's presence, had sent for Perses, went out very slowly to meet him, and gave the opposite faction an opportunity to send for Popillius with this garrison from Ambracia. At the same time Dinarchus, general of the Ætolian cavalry, arrived very seasonably with 600 foot and 100 horse. It was well known, that the design of his coming was to serve Perses ; but changing his mind with fortune, he joined the Romans whom he at first intended to oppose. However, Popillius took all the precautions he ought amongst so fickle a people ; he ordered the keys of the gates and guard of the walls to be delivered to him ; removing Dinarchus, the Ætolians, and the youth of Stratos into the citadel, under pretext of defending it. Perses sounded the inclinations of the inhabitants, in conferences from a hill that commanded the city ; but finding them inflexible, and even that they beat him off with darts, he withdrew five miles from the city, behind the river Petitarus. Having called a council of war, Archidamus and the Epirote fugitives persuaded him to invest the place ; but the Macedonian officers dissuaded him “from “ fighting against the season of the year, having no “ provisions ready : for he would be sooner starved “ than the besieged, especially as the enemy's win-“ ter-quarters were at no great distance.” By these discouragements he retired to Aperantia, where the inhabitants received him with unanimous consent, for the sake of Archidamus, who had great credit and influence with them. In consequence he left Archidamus governor of it, with a garrison of 800 men.

CHAP. XXIII. The king's army suffered as much toil and fatigue in their return to Macedonia, as they had done in their march from thence. However, the report of this march to Stratos, made Appius raise the siege of Phanotes. Clevas pursued him with a body of chosen youth, and at the foot of some impassable mountains killed 1000 of his rear, and took 200 prisoners. The Romans having passed the defiles, incamped a few days in the plain of Elæos. In the mean time Clevas, in conjunction with Philostratus governor of Epirus, made an incursion upon the territories of Antigonia. The Macedonians dispersed to pillage, while Philostratus lay in ambush with his men in a concealed post. The youth of Antigonia sallied out in arms against the ravagers, and pursuing them without precaution, fell in with the enemy who lay in ambush. The latter killed 1000 of them, took 100 prisoners, and after this success approached Appius's camp, to prevent the Romans from injuring their allies. Appius having spent his time to no purpose, and dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirote guards, returned with his Italian troops into Illyricum, where he distributed them into winter-quarters among the cities of the Parthini in alliance with the Romans, and returned himself to Rome to perform some sacrifices. Perseus sent for 1000 foot and 200 horse out of Penestæ, and detached them to garrison Cassandrea. In the mean time his envoys returned from Gentius with the same answer as before. However, Perseus did not cease to importune him, by several embassies one after another, when he saw what a great accession of strength he could bring him; and yet he could not persuade himself to expend money upon what was of the greatest moment to him. [This proved the ruin of both Gentius and himself.

CHAP. XXIV. Whilst by this means the Roman empire was enlarged, and the estates of private persons

persons increased, especially by the spoils of Macedonia, luxury and profusion augmented in proportion to their wealth, and gave occasion to a new law. As the female sex was most obnoxious to extravagant expenses, having less opportunity to fall into more heinous crimes, it was thought fit to guard against too great a share of the riches of the state falling into their possession. For this purpose a tribune of the people, Q. Voconius Salsa, to shew himself as severe a censor to the ladies, as Claudio and Gracchus had been to the men, got a law passed by the people, providing. "That no person, who since the censorship of Q. Fulvius and A. Postumius, that is, within the five years last past, had been ranked in one of the classes of the Roman censors, should by will make a daughter or any woman his heir; and those were to be reckoned among the richer sort, and in the first class, whose portion amounted to above 100,000 asses of brass." The women presently took the alarm, and exerted themselves to ward off this blow. They also found advocates, who with very plausible reasons defended their cause. In consequence the ladies bestirred themselves as much now, in a more material point, as they had done twenty-one years before, in the consulate of Valerius and Cato, against the Oppian law, for the recovery of their dres and trinkets, which are their all. A love of neatness and finery was their sole motive before; but now they were actuated by avarice and unlimited expenses, both arguments sufficiently powerful to make them undertake the most daring actions. Neither is it easy to determine which of them was of greater weight, since it is a moot point, whether their beauty or riches charm the men most, or whether the one does not please the men as much as the other does themselves. The nobility and commons were divided into factions on this occasion, and each, according to his capacity, understanding or

hopes, supported or opposed the bill. Some affirmed,
“ That the public liberty was concerned in the case.
“ This they looked on as a small essay to subvert
“ it; but if it succeeded, they would for the future
“ undermine it totally by degrees. For what here-
“ after would be free, if the most ample privilege of
“ bequeathing to whomever one pleases one's estate,
“ granted by the twelve tables to all as absolute dis-
“ posers of their own private and personal fortunes,
“ and observed inviolate for many ages, should by
“ a new and special law be taken away? Strange!
“ to treat as aliens, and persons incapable of com-
“ mon right, such as have the same common house-
“ hold gods, the same common children, and the
“ same sacred rites with their husbands, as if they
“ were not equally members of the state. It would
“ be better to banish them into solitudes and deserts,
“ and condemn them to perpetual exile, if they were
“ grown weary of them, and the republic could sub-
“ sist without them. Sure it looked shameful, to
“ allow the women their share of their wealth while
“ the republic was poor, and deprive them of it
“ when it was rich. The fair sex did not only
“ serve to propagate the human race, educate
“ children, or by their blandishments delight their
“ husbands; but often even outdid the men in their
“ exemplary virtue, noble actions, and prudent coun-
“ ses; nay, with those very riches, which, may
“ the gods deliver us, are become the object of en-
“ vy, they supported and seasonably relieved our tot-
“ tering state, when almost overthrown by Hanni-
“ bal's arms.” To move compassion they added,
“ the toils peculiar to the sex, and the dangers of
“ child-bearing as formidable to them as wars were
“ to the men.” Nor did they forget, “ that to
“ the women was committed the custody of the e-
“ ternal fire of Vesta, on which the fate of their em-
“ pire depended.” But all those arguments were in-
“ validated, by M. Cato, who in his old age steadfastly
adhered

adhered to the maxims he had maintained in his youth. His speech on this occasion may be seen in his fifth book *De originibus*; but it will suffice in this place to give only the substance of it. Though he was then sixty-five years of age, he spoke with an audible voice, and shewed that his lungs were perfectly sound. "If," said he, "the condition of men and women are to be the same, in vain has the distinction of male and female kindred been observed from the infancy of the republic. It was far from the intent of the twelve tables, that women should succeed as heirs; for the preserving the name and honour of families, they had ordained that each man's sons, and failing them the nearest male relation should succeed to his estate, which was agreeable to natural right. Neither was the power of leaving their estates to whom they pleased, granted to fathers of families, that blinded by the blandishments of women, they should transfer their estates into strange families; but rather to enable them to consult the interest of their families, by leaving the grefs of their estates to their sons, and competent portions to their daughters. Yet still care should be taken to make women esteem chastity, parsimony, and dutiful regard as their best dowry. To what purpose did our ancestors provide, that they should be under the guardianship of parents, brothers, and male relations, if they were suffered to squander immense riches, and by the help thereof break through all laws and rules of modesty?" In fine, he inveighed with so much vehemence against the incapacity of women, and painted their extravagance in so lively colours, that he extorted an unanimous approbation from all the assembly; especially when he urged, "That though they brought a large portion to their husbands, yet they reserved more considerable sums, than they would vouchsafe them, at their own disposal. This they would afterwards lend

" the husbands at their request ; but as often as they
 " quarrelled, they would set a slave, reserved as
 " their own, to haunt and dun their husbands as
 " importunately, as if they were strange debtors." This so enraged the tribes, that they passed the Vesonian law.]

BOOK XLIV.

ABRIDGMENT.

I. Q. *Marcius penetrates into Macedonia ; dislodges the Macedonians from their strong posts.* X. *The actions of the fleet.* XIII. *The consul obliges king Eumenes.* XIV. *The Rhodians threaten to join Perses, if the Romans would not come to an accommodation.* XVI. *Onefimus a Macedonian is well received at Rome.* XVII. P. *Æmilius gets Macedonia for his province.* XIX. *Ambassadors come to Rome from Ptolemy king of Egypt, begging assistance against Antiochus.* XXII. *Æmilius sets out for Macedonia.* XXIII. *Perses solicits Gentius and Eumenes to join him ; loses them and the assistance of 20,000 Gauls by his avarice.* XXXI. *Anicius the prætor defeats Gentius, and sends him with his wife, children, and relations prisoners to Rome.* XXXII. *Perses fortifies his camp.* XXXIII. *Æmilius's regulations in the army.* XXXV. *Forces a strong post of the Macedonians at Pytkium ; obliges Perses to retire from his strong camp.* XXXVII. C. *Sulpicius Gallus forewarns the army of an eclipse of the moon.* XL. *Perses is defeated at Pydna, with great slaughter of his men.*

CHAP. I. IN the beginning of the spring, which succeeded that winter in which these affairs were transacted, Q. *Marcius Philippus the consul marching from Rome with 5000 men, (which he was to carry over with him for recruiting the legions), came to Brundisium.* M. *Popillius, a man of consular dignity, and other youths of like high birth, accompanied the consul in quality of legionary tribunes*

tribunes for the legions in Macedonia. About the same time C. Marcius Figulus the prætor, whose province was to command the fleet, came to Brundisium, and failing from Italy together, they made Corcyra the next day, and on the third reached Actium, a port of Acarnania. Then the consul, disembarking at Ambracia, marched by land into Thessaly. The prætor, having doubled cape Leucate, entered the gulf of Corinth, and leaving his ships at Creusa, went himself cross Boeotia, and in one day's quick march got to the fleet at Chalcis. A. Hostilius was at that time incamped near Palæpharsalus * in Thessaly; though he had performed no warlike exploit worth mentioning, yet he had brought the army from an unbounded licentiousness into the strictest military discipline, behaved faithfully towards the allies, and defended them from all kind of injuries. Hearing of the arrival of his successor, he made a diligent review of his men, arms, and horses, and went out to meet the consul at his arrival with his army in good order. Their first interview was agreeable to their own dignity, and that of the Roman name, and of great advantage to Marcius in his future operations; for the proconsul turning to the troops, exhorted them to behave gallantly, and delivering them to the consul returned to Rome. A few days after the consul made a speech to the soldiers. He began with the parricide committed by Perseus upon his brother, and, in effect, upon his father; and then added, "his obtaining the king-dom by wicked means, his poisonings, murders, "and his base attempts to assassinate Eumenes, his "injuries done to the Romans, and pillaging the "towns in alliance with them contrary to treaty: "that he would be made sensible in the issue of his "affairs how abominable all these things were even "to the gods: for they favoured piety and justice, "by which the Romans had arrived to such a pitch of

* Old Pharsalus in Phthiotis.

"grandeur.

" grandeur. He then compared the strength of the
 " Roman people, now lords of the universe, with
 " the strength of Macedonia, and the armies of the
 " one with the armies of the other. How much
 " greater (says he) was the power of Philip and An-
 " tiochus, which yet was vanquished by no greater
 " an army?"

CHAP. II. Having animated the soldiers by this warm harangue, he began to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. Thither also came C. Marcius the prætor from Chalcis, after he had taken upon him the command of the fleet. They agreed, not to waste the time by tarrying any longer in Thessaly, but immediately to decamp and march from thence into Macedonia; and that the prætor should take care at the same time that the fleet should infest the enemy's coasts. After the prætor was dismissed, the consul ordered the soldiers to carry a month's provisions with them, and decamping began his march the tenth day after he had taken upon him the command. At the end of his first day's march he called his guides, and ordered them to declare before his council which route each of them intended to take. When they were withdrawn, he referred it to the council to chuse which they would. Some were for marching through Pythium; some for going over the Cambunian mountains, the same way that Hostilius the consul had marched last year; and others for keeping along by the marsh of Ascuris *. There yet remained some part of the common road; therefore their coming to a resolution on that affair was postponed, till they should incamp near the place where the ways parted. From thence he marched to Perrhaibia, and halted some time between Azorus and Doliche †, that he might again consider what route to take. At the same time Perse, knowing that the enemy approached, but uncertain what route he

* Unknown.

† Both stood on the confines of Thessaly in Pelagonia Tripolitis.
 had

had taken, resolved to post guards at all the avenues : 10,000 light troops were detached under command of Asclepiodotus, to guard the tops of the Cambunian mountains, which they call Volustana. Hippias was posted with 12,000 Macedonians to defend a fort upon the lake Ascuris, named Lapathus. The king in person with the rest of his army incamped at first about Dium ; but afterwards, seeming to be at his wit's end, he scoured the neighbouring coasts with a body of light horse, sometimes towards Heracleum *, at other times towards Phila, and then returning to Dium with as much haste.

C H A P. III. In the mean time the consul came to a resolution to march through that pass near Octolophus, where king Philip had incamped, as we have formerly mentioned. Nevertheless, he thought proper to send a detachment of 4000 men before, to seize some important posts, under the command of M. Claudius, and Q. Marcius his own son : and the whole army immediately followed. But the way was so steep and craggy, that the detachment sent before could hardly march fifteen miles in two days. They incamped at the foot of a fort, which they took, called Eudieru. From whence having advanced seven miles the next day, and taken possession of an eminence not far from the enemy's camp, they sent back a messenger to tell the consul, that they were come within a proper distance of the enemy, and had incamped on a post that was secure and convenient for any enterprise ; desiring he might follow them with all possible haste. The courier found the consul on the banks of the lake Ascuris, uneasy on account of the difficulties of the march he had undertaken, and under great apprehensions for the detachment he had sent before him, amongst the middle of the enemy's advanced guards. He was therefore much encouraged with the news, and

* At the foot of the Olympus, in the entrance of the Thermaic gulf.

joining them incamped on the side of the hill, with their tents placed in rows, one above another, suitable to the nature of the ground they occupied. From this eminence they saw not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile from them, but all the country about Dium and Phila, and the sea itself, which bounded the prospect. The soldiers were exceedingly animated at having so near a view of the main business of the war, the king's whole army, and the enemy's country. Therefore they cheerfully demanded of the consul to be led on to attack without delay; but he allowed them one day to rest themselves, after the fatigues of this march. The third day the consul, leaving a part of his forces to guard the camp, drew out his men against the enemy.

CHAP. IV. Hippias had been lately detached by the king to defend the pass. This general, from the time he saw the Romans incamped on the hill, prepared his soldiers for an engagement, and marched to meet the consul's army whenever it began to move. The light troops on both sides were the first who advanced, as being the most proper to begin the fight. They instantly engaged with missile weapons. Many wounds were received and given on both sides in this disorderly attack, and several men killed. Their minds being irritated with this, the next day they would have had a fiercer engagement, and with more forces, if the ground had been spacious enough for forming the two armies; but the hill grew narrower and narrower all the way up, and was scarce broad enough at the top for posting two or three companies abreast. Therefore only a few engaging, the rest of the multitude, especially such as bore heavy armour, stood as spectators of the battle: the light-armed run along the turnings and windings of the hill on both sides to charge the enemy, without regard to the evenness or ruggedness of the ground. That day there were more wounded than killed, and night

night put an end to the fight. On the third day the Roman general was at a stand; for he could not continue on the hill being destitute of provisions, nor retreat without dishonour, and even danger. If he should go down into the flat country, the enemy would fall upon him: so the only expedient he had left, was to pursue an enterprise with vigour, that had been formed with too much boldness, a tenacious perseverance sometimes proving successful. Matters were come to that pass, that if the consal had been to act against an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedonia, he might have received a great blow. But the king continued in a flying camp about Dium, with his cavalry along the shores, and, being but twelve miles off, could almost hear the shouts thus raised in fighting; without enlarging his forces by sending fresh men to relieve those that were fatigued, or appearing in person at the head of his army, which was of great consequence: whilst on the other hand the Roman general, though above sixty years old, and very corpulent, acted the part both of a general and a soldier at the same time. He continued firm to the last in his bold enterprise; and leaving Popillius to guard the hill, entered upon a very difficult march, having sent some before him to clear the way. He gave orders to Attalus * and Misagenes †, each with a body of auxiliaries of their respective nations, to guard those that beat down and levelled the roads; next followed the cavalry with the baggage, and himself with the legions brought up the rear.

CHAP. V. The inexpressible fatigue they underwent in getting down, with the loss of horses and their loads, while they had hardly yet advanced four miles, made them think nothing more desirable than to return back to the place they came from, if it were possible. The elephants in particular, gave them as much disturbance almost as an enemy could

* A Pergamenian

† A Numidian.

have done; for when they came to an unpassable place, they threw their riders, and with hideous roaring frightened the horses; till the following expedient was found for getting them down the precipices. Along the steep parts of the mountain they laid two long beams, sustained at top by the ground, and at their lower extremities by piles driven into the earth; they were distant from each other something more than the breadth of the body of an elephant. Across these two beams they laid planks thirty foot long, which formed a kind of bridge, and covered them with earth. Below this bridge, at some distance, a second of the same kind was erected; then a third, and so on where-ever the rocks were too steep. The elephant walked firm upon the bridge; but before he came to the end of it, the props were cut, the bridge fell, and the animal was obliged to slide gently down to the beginning of another. This some of them did standing upright, and others squatting on their buttocks. When they were come to the level of another bridge, they advanced quietly till they were let down by a like fall, and so on till they were brought to the plains where the roads were more passable. The Romans did not march much above seven miles a-day, and very little of this journey was made on foot, being often obliged to slide along the ground with their arms and other burdens to their great vexation; so that even the author and leader of their march was obliged to confess, that the whole army might have been cut in pieces by a handful of men. At night they arrived in a valley not very large; neither had they opportunity of examining if the place was secure or not, it being surrounded on all sides. Having at length beyond expectation got firm ground to rest upon, they were forced to tarry all the next day in this deep valley, to wait for Popillius and his troops, who were likewise terribly harassed by the badness of the roads, though they had met with no alarms

from the enemy. The third day they joined the main body, and went through a defile called Callipeuce, in the language of the country. On the fourth day, marching from thence, they went through as difficult places; but the fatigue was become more supportable by habit, and the fears of the troops lessened, because the enemy nowhere appeared, and they drew near to the sea. They incamped on the plains between Heracleum and Libethrum *, the greatest part of the foot being posted on the eminences, whilst the rest, with the horse, were lodged in the valley.

C H A P. VI. The king is reported to have received information of the enemy's approach whilst he was bathing. At the news he jumped out of the bath in a consternation, crying out, that he was conquered without giving battle. He became restless and irresolute, perpetually shifting his place and posture, and often changing his designs. He caused the two officers, whom he had posted to guard the passes, to retire, and left open all the avenues of his kingdom. He caused all the gilt statues that were at Dium to be hurried on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, and removed in haste to Pydna; and gave an air of prudence to the temerity of the consul, who had engaged himself in a country, from which he had never got off, if his enemies had been in their senses. For the Romans had only two ways by which they might extricate themselves out of this danger; the one by passing through the pass of Tempe, in order to enter Thessaly; the other by Dium, to enter Macedonia; both which posts were occupied by the king's troops. If the king therefore had had a little more resolution, and had withstood the terror he was seized with on the approach of the Romans only for ten days, they could neither have retired through Tempe into Thessaly, nor have had provisions in the defiles into which they

* In Magnesia, near mount Helicon.

had advanced. For Tempe is a defile very difficult to pass, though there were no enemy to dispute it. Besides, the straits, which for five miles together are but just broad enough for a loaded mule to pass, the rocks on both sides are so steep, that men can scarce look down the precipice without giddiness both of the mind and eyes. The depth and noise of the river Peneus that runs through the middle of the valley, is likewise dreadful. This place, so dangerous in its own nature, was guarded by the king's troops in four different places. One at Gonnii, at the entrance of the pass : the second at Condylon, an impregnable fortress : the third about Lapathus, which they call Characa : the fourth in the path itself, about the middle and narrowest part of it, and which was capable of being defended by ten well-armed men. Thus the Romans, not being able to receive provisions through the valley of Tempe, nor to pass there themselves, would have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they had descended ; which, though it might have been done by a stolen march, would have been impracticable in an open manner, while the enemy continued to occupy the eminences : besides, the experienced difficulty would have cut off all their hopes. They would then have had no other resource in this rash enterprise than to penetrate into Macedonia on the side of Dium, by passing through the enemy, which would not have been less difficult, if the gods had not deprived the king of counsel and prudence. For there being but little more than a mile's distance between the foot of mount Olympus and the sea, the half of which space is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphyrus, which overflows, and thereby makes unpassable lakes, (besides that the town, and the temple of Jupiter, commands part of the plain), the rest might easily have been shut up by making a fossé and intrenchments. And there was such plenty of wood and stones on the spot, that they might have built a wall and

and erected turrets. But the king's terror had thrown him into such a blindness of mind, that he neither saw nor did any thing that might save him ; he left all the entrances into his kingdom open to the enemy, and took refuge at Pydna.

C H A P . VII. The consul, seeing that he might hope every thing from the imprudence and remissness of the enemy, sent orders to Sp. Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts adjacent to Tempe, which the enemy had abandoned ; and sent Popilius before him to reconnoitre the passes near Dium. When he knew that the ways were open and undefended, he advanced, and arriving at Dium the second day, made his army incamp near the temple, to prevent it from being plundered. When he entered the city, which though not very large, yet was full of magnificent buildings and statues, and very well fortified, he was astonished to find that it had been so easily abandoned, and therefore was in fear of a surprise. He continued there one day to search all the avenues to it, and then left it. Believing he had provisions enough for continuing his march, he proceeded that day to the river Mitys. The next day he marched forward, and the town Agassa submitted to him voluntarily ; from which, that he might gain the affections of the rest of the Macedonians, he only demanded hostages, promising to leave the town to them without a garrison, and that they should enjoy their liberty and their own laws. From thence advancing a day's journey, he incamped by the river Ascordus ; but the farther he proceeded from Thessaly, the less subsistence he found for his troops, and the famine increased in proportion, and therefore he returned to Dium ; it being now manifest to all men, what he must have suffered had he been shut out from Thessaly, since it was not safe for him even to be at any great distance from it. Perses, drawing together all his forces and generals, reproached the commanders

of his garrisons, especially Asclepiodotus and Hippias, affirming, it was they that opened the passages of Macedonia to the Romans ; of which crime none could be more justly accused than himself. The consul, after being put in hopes, by seeing his fleet at sea, that the ships were coming with provisions, (for victuals were very scarce), was informed by those that were already landed, that his transport-ships were got no farther than Magnesia. Being then at his wit's end, (for the difficulties he had to struggle with were very great of themselves, without any aggravation from the attacks of the enemy), a courier came very seasonably from Sp. Lucretius, with advice, that he had seized on all the fortresses in the valley of Tempe, and about Phila, and had found plenty of corn and other necessaries in them.

CHAP. VIII. The consul being very glad of the news, marched from Dium to Phila, as well to reinforce the garrison of that place, as to distribute corn to his soldiers, the conveying of which had been retarded. This step occasioned reflections not much in the consul's favour : for some gave out, that he fled to avoid fighting Perseus, who was preparing to give him battle ; others, that he was unskilled in the art of war, the fortune of which was daily fluctuating, in that he had, when occasion offered, let slip those advantages which could not be easily recovered. For, by abandoning Dium, he awakened the enemy, so as now to perceive he must recover those places he had before lost by his timidity. For as soon as he heard of the consul's departure, he returned to Dium, repaired the ravages the Romans had committed, rebuilt the battlements of the walls that had been thrown down, and strengthened them every where with new fortifications. From thence he went and incamped at five miles distance from the town, on the nearer bank of the river Enipeus, being resolved to make the river itself a barrier, it being very difficult to pass. It springs from the bot-

tom of mount Olympus, and in summer is only a small rivulet, but in the winter, being swelled with the rains, it rolls down the mount with a great noise, and by the rapidity of its fall carries much earth along with it into the sea, whereby deep whirlpools are made, the middle of its channel being hollowed, and its banks rendered steep on both sides. Perseus, believing this river would put a stop to the enemy's march, resolved to continue here the rest of the campaign. In the mean time the consul sent Popillius from Phila to Heracleum with 2000 men. It is almost five miles from Phila, in the middle between Dium and Tempe, situated on a rock which overlooks the river.

C H A P. IX. Popillius, before he began to attack the walls, sent to advise the magistrates and chief men of the place, “to make trial rather of the justice and clemency of the Romans, than of the force of their arms.” Those advices had no influence upon them, because they could see the fires in the king's camp on the banks of Enipeus. Then the siege was undertaken with arms, works, and warlike engines, both by land and sea, for the fleet was within reach. Some young Romans also, by applying to the use of war an exercise they had learned in the Circensian games, carried the foot of the wall. It was the custom in those times (when the magnificence of the games was not thought to consist in the great number of wild beasts of all nations with which the circus was filled) to exhibit divers kinds of fights after the chariot and horse races were over, which scarce lasted above an hour. Amongst others, about 600 youths, sometimes more, were introduced in armour by the marshals of the games. Their motions partly represented a mock battle; and partly a more elegant exercise than of the military art, and came nearer to the practice of fencers. After they had performed their other evolutions, they formed a square battal-

lion, and holding their bucklers over their heads, the first rank standing upright, the second stooping, the third and fourth still more, and the last even kneeling, they formed a sloping tortoise resembling the roof of a house. Upon this, at the distance of about fifty foot, two of the warriors came to the charge and flourished at one another, then getting up from the lower side of the tortoise to the higher, over the close bucklers, they sometimes made a shew of defending it at the extremities, and sometimes falling foul of one another in the middle, capering as if they had been upon firm ground. The soldiers, by applying such a tortoise as this to part of the wall, raised themselves to an equal height with those that defended it, and beating them off, two companies got into the town. In this only is differed, that the soldiers in the front and flanks of this tortoise, did not cover their heads with their bucklers, lest their bodies should be exposed, but held them after the manner of combatants. Thus they received no hurt from the darts that were thrown down upon them from the ramparts; and as for what was thrown on the tortoise, it slid down it without doing any hurt, as rain from the roof of a house. And now the consul being master of Heracleum, came and incamped near it, as if he intended to march to Dium, and having driven the king from thence, to advance into Pieria likewise. But as he was preparing for his winter-quarters, he gave orders for making the roads good, for the conveyance of provisions out of Thessaly, and to erect magazines in convenient places; and built houses for the convenient lodging of those that guarded the convoys.

CHAP. X. Perse, at length having recovered his right with his reason, would have been very glad if his orders for throwing his treasures at Pella into the sea, and for burning all his galleys at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, who was sent

sent to Thessalonica, had delayed the affair, to leave room for repentance, as it really happened. Nicæus, who had not so much precaution, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea; but his fault was soon remedied by divers, who brought up almost all that money from the bottom. And so great was the king's shame for the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he caused all the divers to be put to death secretly; and afterwards Andronicus and Nicæus also, that no witness of such mad orders might remain. In the mean time C. Marcius sailed with the fleet from Heracleum to Thessalonica, and making a descent, laid waste a great part of the country: he also fought some successful skirmishes with the townsmen that sallied out, and drove them back in confusion. And now he was become terrible to the town itself; but they brought so many balistæ on their ramparts, that not only the stragglers that approached the walls too rashly, but even those in the ships were wounded with stones thrown from them. The soldiers were therefore recalled to the ships, and laying aside the siege of Thessalonica, they went from thence to Ænia. That town is about fifteen miles distant, and situated overagainst Pydna in a fertile soil. Having ravaged its territories, they coasted along and came to Antigonia. There making a descent, they first ravaged the country, and carried some booty to their ships; but the Macedonians attacking them whilst in disorder with a mixture of horse and foot, pursued them with eagerness to the shore, killing almost 500, and taking as many prisoners. And nothing but the utmost necessity roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, as well through despair of saving themselves any other way as through the disgrace they had suffered, being deprived of a safe retreat to their ships. The battle was renewed on the shore, and they were assisted by those that were on board, There about 200 of the Macedonians fell,

fell, and as many were made prisoners. From Antigonia the fleet sailed to Pellum, and made a descent in order to pillage the country. This was in the territories of Cassandrea, by far the most fruitful of all the coast which they had passed. There king Eumenes joined them with twenty ships of war from Elea, and five ships of war sent by king Prusias.

CHAP. XI. This reinforcement emboldened the prætor to attempt the taking of Cassandrea. It was built by king Cassander in that neck of land which joins the country of Pellene to the rest of Macedonia, and divides the Toroneic from the Thermaic gulf. The isthmus on which it stands is very high land, and reaches as high as to the height of mount Athos, facing Magnesia, with two unequal promontories, of which the greater is called Posideum, and the lesser Canastræum. They divided the attack between them. The Romans threw up intrenchments at the place called Clytæ, from the Thermaic to the Toroneic gulf, and even fixed up palisadoes of stakes and iron in form of deer's horns, to stop the passage. On the other side ran the Euripus, and there Eumenes made his attack. The Romans found great difficulty in filling up the fossé, which Perse had lately caused to be made. Then the prætor inquiring, by reason he could see no heaps, where the earth was laid that had been dug out of the fossé? they shewed him walls that had been built not equal in thickness to the old wall, but only with one row of bricks, and the middle space filled up with earth. Upon this he formed a resolution to open a passage into the town by digging through the wall. And he reckoned he might conceal his design from the besieged, if, by attempting to scale the walls at another place, he should cause an alarm, and divert the garrison to the defence of that post. There was in the garrison of Cassandrea, besides the youth of the town who made

a considerable body, 800 Agrianes and 200 Illyrians of Peneta, sent from thence by Pleuratis; both were good warriors. Whilst they were defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in a moment the arched brick walls being dug through opened a passage into the town. And if the pioneers had been armed, they would have immediately taken it. As soon as the soldiers were informed that this project was executed, all of a sudden they shouted for joy, some intending to break in at one place and some at another.

CHAP. XII. The enemy was at first struck with admiration, not knowing what might be the meaning of that sudden shout. But after they came to know that a breach was made, the commanders of the garrison, Pytho and Philip, reckoning that whatever side should seize it first, would have the advantage, rallied out with a strong party of Agrianes and Illyrians; and falling upon the Romans who were assembling in different places in order to march into the city, and not yet formed, put them to flight, and pursued them, to the fossé, into which they drove them, and filled it with their dead bodies. Near 600 were killed there, and very few of those that were surprised between the wall and the fossé, escaped without wounds: the mischief of the prætor's own project thus recoiling upon himself, made him flower in forming other designs. Neither indeed had Eumenes, who made his attack by sea as well as land, met with better success. Therefore they both resolved to invest it so closely as to prevent any succours being thrown into it from Macedonia, and to batter the walls with their engines, since they had not succeeded by an open assault. Whilst they were settling these affairs, ten of the king's pinnaces, sent from Thessalonica with the flower of the Gallic auxiliaries, perceiving the ships of the enemy at anchor in the road, kept as near shore as possible,

and

and making use only of one bank of oars, got into town under favour of the night. The report of this new reinforcement compelled both Eumenes and the Romans to quit the siege; so they doubled the promontory, and appeared with the fleet before Tolumna*. This likewise they attempted to besiege; but when they perceived that it was defended by a strong garrison, they laid aside their enterprise, and went to Demetrias; where finding on their approach, that its walls were lined with soldiers, they sailed by it, and made a descent at Iolcos†; from thence, after having pillaged the country, they resolved still to attack Demetrias.

CHAP. XIII. In the mean time the consul, that he might not seem to idle away the campaign, sent M. Popillius with 5000 men to lay siege to Melibœa‡. This town is situate at the foot of mount Olfa, in that part of it which looks towards Thessaly, and overlooks Demetrias very conveniently. The first approach of the enemy struck terror into the inhabitants of the place; but afterwards recovering from their unexpected surprise, they took arms, and ran to the gates and walls, and where-ever they had any suspicion of their entering. By this means they immediately cut off their hopes of taking it at the first assault. Therefore the Romans resolved to invest it, and began to make the necessary preparations. Perse, being informed that Melibœa was besieged by the consular army, and that at the same time the fleet was riding at Iolcos in order to attack Demetrias, sent Euphranor, one of his generals, to Melibœa with 2000 choice men. He ordered him, “ if he could drive the Romans from Melibœa, to enter Demetrias by private roads before the Romans should decamp from Iolcos to go thither.” Upon his appearing of a sudden to the besiegers from the

* In the Paraxian province, where castle Rampo stands.

† Now the village of Iaco in Magnesia.

‡ At the foot of mount Olfa, near the lake Bœbeis.

higher

higher grounds, they relinquished and set fire to their works with great precipitation. Thus was the siege of Melibœa raised. Euphranor having raised the siege of one town, marched without delay to Demetrias. And then they thought themselves not only able to defend their walls, but even their lands from being plundered; and made sallies upon the straggling foragers, not without loss to the enemy. Nevertheless, the prætor and Eumenes went round the walls to reconnoitre its situation, and observe if it could be attacked in any place, either by machines or open force. It was reported, that a treaty of peace was negotiated between Eumenes and Perses, by means of Cydas the Cretan and Antimachus the governor of Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul, and having congratulated him upon his successful entrance into Macedonia, went away to Pergamus, his own kingdom. M. Figulus the prætor, having sent part of the fleet to winter at Sciathos *, sailed with the rest of the ships to Oreum in Bœotia, judging that the most convenient town from whence provisions might be sent to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. There are many different reports concerning king Eumenes. If we believe Valerius Antias, " he neither assisted the prætor with his fleet, though often sent for by letters, nor was his departure into Asia to the consul's liking; being enraged that they would not permit him to lodge in the same camp with them; nay, that he refused to leave the Gallish horse he had brought along with him: but that his brother Attalus remained with the consul, continuing unshaken in his fidelity, and performing eminent services in that war."

CHAP. XIV. Whilst the war was carrying on in Macedonia, ambassadors came to Rome from a petty king of the Transalpine Gauls, (his name is said

* An island in the Ægean sea between the coast of Magnesia, and Peparethus.

to have been Balaos, but of what nation, is not mentioned), with coffers of assistance for the Macedonian war. They received thanks from the senate, and presents were made them; a gold chain of two pound weight, golden cups weighing four pounds, a horse with furniture and equestrian armour. Next after the Gauls, the Pamphylian ambassadors brought into the senate-house a gold crown made of 20,000 pieces of gold, called Philipusses, petitioning for leave to deposit it as a gift in the chapel of Jupiter, the greatest and the best of beings, and to sacrifice in the Capitol. This was granted them, and a favourable answer returned to their ambassadors, when they desired to renew the treaty of amity, together with a present to each of them of 2000 asbes of braes. Then audience was granted to ambassadors from king Prusias, and a little after to others from the Rhodians, who talked upon the same subject in quite different strains; the design of both the embassies was to mediate a peace with king Peres. The speech of Prusias's ambassadors was rather a supplication than a demand. They declared, "that their master had always adhered to the side of the Romans, and should always do so as long as he was continued. But for as much as ambassadors had come to him from Peres, about putting an end to the war with the Romans, and that he had promised them to employ his good offices with the senate for that purpose; he desired them, if they could resolve to lay aside their resentment, to let Peres know, that it was out of respect to him, they had concluded to make peace." This was the purport of the king's ambassadors harangue. The Rhodians, after having in a haughty manner recounted the services they had rendered to the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest part of the victories, especially that gained over Antiochus, added, "That whilst peace subsisted between the Romans and Macedonians, " they

“ they had entered into a league with king Perses ;
 “ that they had broke this league against their will,
 “ without any subje&t of complaint against him, be-
 “ cause the Romans had thought fit to engage them
 “ in the war. That for three years time they had
 “ suffered many inconveniences from that war ;
 “ that their trade by sea being interrupted, their
 “ island was greatly straitened by the reduction of the
 “ revenues and other advantages they derived from
 “ it. That not being able to endure such consider-
 “ able losses any longer, they had sent ambassadors
 “ into Macedonia to tell Perses, that the Rhodians
 “ judged it necessary, he should make peace with
 “ the Romans. That they had been sent to Rome
 “ to make the same declaration : and that if either
 “ of the two powers refused to put an end to the
 “ war, the Rhodians would think of means to bring
 “ them to reason.” I am certain, that even at this
 time these things cannot be read or heard without
 indignation, from whence it may be conjectured
 with what disposition the Fathers received this dis-
 course.

CHAP. XV. Claudius tells us that no answer was given to it, but only a decree of the senate read in their presence, by which the Roman people declared the Carians and Lycians free, and ordered an express immediately to be sent to both nations to acquaint them therewith ; and that upon hearing this, the chief ambassador, whose vain boasting but a little before the senate could scarce contain, fell into a swoon. But, according to others, this reply was made them : “ That the people of Rome, even in the beginning of this war, had been informed by very creditable authors, that the Rhodians had held secret intelligence with Perses against their republic ; and if it had been doubtful before, the present speech of their envoys put it beyond all question ; as for the most part fraud discovers itself, though it be somewhat cautious at first.

“ That the Rhodians acted by their ambassadors as
 “ if they were arbitrators of peace and war through
 “ the world. That the Romans would take up
 “ arms, and lay them down, at the pleasure of the
 “ gods. But now they were not to have the gods
 “ as witnesses of their leagues, but the Rhodians.
 “ Must they, forsooth, then be obeyed in this re-
 “ spect, and the armies withdrawn from Macedo-
 “ nia? They would consider what course they had
 “ best to take; what the Rhodians would think
 “ proper to follow, was best known to themselves.
 “ But the Romans, after the defeat of Perseus, which
 “ they hoped would be very speedily, would consider
 “ what they had to do, and treat every people ac-
 “ cording to their conduct in this war.” The present
 however of 2000 asles of brass was offered to each
 of the ambassadors; but they would not accept
 them.

CHAP. XVI. A letter from Q. Marcius the consul was afterwards read: in it he gave an account, “ of his having entered Macedonia by de-
 “ files. And that the prætor had got provisions for
 “ him for the winter from thence as well as other
 “ places: and that the Epirotes had supplied him
 “ with 20,000 modii of wheat, and 10,000 of bar-
 “ ley, the price of which was to be paid in to their
 “ ambassadors at Rome. That cloaths must be sent
 “ from the city for the soldiers. That he had oc-
 “ casion for 200 Numidian horse, if they could be
 “ had; for the country where he was supplied him
 “ with none.” The senate decreed that all these
 things should be done according to the consul's letter. The prætor C. Sulpicius contracted for 6000 gowns, 30,000 tunics, and the horses to be transported into Macedonia, and distributed at the consul's pleasure, and paid the price of the corn to the ambassadors of the Epirotes. He also introduced into the senate O-
 nesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always persuaded the king to continue the
 peace;

peace ; and put him in mind, that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had always caused the treaty he had concluded with the Romans to be read to him twice every day ; had exhorted him to observe that custom, if not always, at least pretty often. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he at first had withdrawn from his councils under various pretexts, that he might not be a witness of the resolutions taken in them, which he did not approve. At last finding that he was become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he took refuge amongst the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. Having related all that has been said to the senate, he was ordered to be inrolled amongst their allies, and to be lodged and entertained at the public expense : they assigned him 200 acres of the public land at Tarentum, and a house to be purchased for him in that city ; charging C. Decinius, the prætor, with the performance. The censors took a survey of the citizens on the 13th of December in a more severe manner than usual. Many knights were degraded, amongst whom was P. Rutilus, who had accused them of enormous crimes in his tribunate : he was likewise turned out of his tribe, and deprived of his freedom. Half of that year's revenue was assigned them by the quæstors, by a decree of the senate, for erecting public buildings. Ti. Sempronius with his part of the money purchased for the public use the almost decayed house of P. Africanus, near the statue of Vortumnus, together with the slaughterhouses and warehouses adjoining, and erected there a public hall, which was afterwards called Sempronia.

CHAP. XVII. It was now near the end of the year, and the Macedonian war being of such importance, it was the subject of all conversations, who should be chosen consuls for the ensuing year for putting an end to it. In consequence the senate ordered that Cn. Servilius should be sent for as soon as possible

possible to hold the comitia. The prætor Sulpicius accordingly sent him a copy of the senate's decree, and receiving an answer from him in a few days, signifying his compliance, he read it in the senate. The consul made haste, and the elections were held on the day appointed. The consuls elected were L. Æmilius Paullus for the second time, seventeen years after his first consulate, and C. Licinius Crassus. The next day, Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus, L. Annius Gallus, Cn. Octavius, P. Fonteius Balbus, M. Æbutius Elva, and C. Papirius Carbo, were chosen prætors. The care of the Macedonian war excited them to a quicker dispatch of business than usual. Therefore it was thought proper that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known to which of the consuls Macedonia should fall, and which of the prætors should have the command of the fleet, that they might, without delay, consider of, and prepare necessaries for the war, and consult the senate if there was occasion. That the magistrates should take care to celebrate the feriæ Latinæ, as soon as they entered into office and other religious rites would permit, that the consul who was to go into Macedonia might not be detained. These decrees being passed, Italy and Macedonia were nominated for provinces to the consuls; and the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, to the prætors. Of the consular provinces Macedonia fell to Æmilius, and Italy to Licinius. The prætor Bæbius had the jurisdiction over citizens; Annius, that over foreigners, and to go where the senate should think fit; Octavius, the fleet; Fonteius, Spain; Æbutius, Sicily; and Papirius, Sardinia.

CHAP. XVIII. It quickly appeared to all men that Æmilius would prosecute this war with vigour. For besides his being of a different character from their former generals, he applied himself carefully night and day to consider what things were necessary for

for it. First of all he demanded of the senate, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia, to inspect the armies and fleet, and to make report, after they had made an exact inquiry, what troops would be necessary both for land and sea service. They were also to inform themselves as far as possible of the condition of the king's troops, in what province the Romans were, as well as those of the enemy ; whether the former had their camp in the defiles of the mountains, or had entirely passed them, and were in the plain : what allies were assuredly to be relied on, who those were whose fidelity seemed doubtful and wavering, and who were to be considered as declared enemies : for what time the army had provisions, and from whence they were to be brought either by land or sea carriage : what had passed during the last campaign, as well by land as sea : believing, that, from a thorough knowledge of these particulars, he could take sure measures for the time to come. The senate ordered Cn. Servilius, the consul, to nominate such commissioners for Macedonia, as L. Æmilius should approve of. They were Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, A. Licinius Nerva, and L. Bæbius, who set out two days after. News was brought in the end of that year, that it had rained stones twice in the Roman territories, and once among the Veientes ; a solemn festival was kept for nine days. There died of the priests that year, P. Quintilius Varus, priest of Mars, and M. Claudius Marcellus the decemvir, in whose place Cn. Octavius was substituted. And now magnificence increasing, it was remarked, that at the Circensian games exhibited by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and P. Lentulus, the curule ediles, sixty-three panthers, and forty bears and elephants, were brought into the amphitheatre.

CHAP. XIX. In the beginning of the ensuing year, on the fifteenth of March, L. Æmilius Paullus and C. Licinius being consuls, whilst the Fathers

were in expectation of something of importance to be proposed to them concerning Macedonia by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen ; Paulus declared he had nothing to lay before them till the return of the commissioners, who were still at Brundisium ; having been twice driven back to Dyrrachium by contrary winds. That as soon as he had got information of those things which were necessary to be known beforehand, he would lay the affair before them, and that would be in a very short time. And, that nothing might retard his departure, he acquainted them, that the twelfth of April was appointed for the celebration of the feriae Latinæ. That when the sacrifices were regularly performed, he himself and Cn. Octavius would set out whenever the senate thought fit. That his colleague C. Licinius would take care, in his absence, to get ready and send whatever should be judged necessary for the war. In the mean time they might give audience to the ambassadors of foreign nations. The sacrifices being duly performed, the Alexandrian ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra were first introduced ; they entered the hall in a sordid dress, with their hair and beards untrimmed, holding boughs of olive in their hands, and prostrated themselves before the Fathers : their speech was more lamentable than their habit. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had been hostage at Rome, making war upon the younger Ptolemy, who then held Alexandria under the specious pretext of restoring his elder brother to his throne, had gained a victory over him at Pelusium by sea, and in haste laying a bridge over the Nile, had passed that river with his army, and threatened Alexandria itself with a siege ; and seemed on the point of getting possession of that most opulent kingdom. This the ambassadors complaining of, begged the senate to grant assistance to a kingdom and kings that were well-wishers to their empire. They said, " so great were the merits of the people of Rome towards Antiochus, and
" such

“ such their authority with all kings and nations,
 “ that if they sent ambassadors to declare to him that
 “ the senate were displeased with his making war up-
 “ on kings in alliance with them, he would imme-
 “ diately retire from the walls of Alexandria, and
 “ carry back his army into Syria. But if they de-
 “ layed to do this, Ptolemy and Cleopatra would in a
 “ short time be driven from their kingdom, and come
 “ to Rome, to the dishonour of the Roman people
 “ in not succouring them in their extremity.” The
 Fathers were moved with the prayers of the Alexan-
 drians, and immediately dispatched C. Popilius Læ-
 nas, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, as ambassadors
 to put an end to the war between the kings. They
 were ordered first to wait on Antiochus, and then on
 Ptolemy, and to declare, that whichever of the two
 should refuse to make an end of the war, should no
 longer be considered as a friend and ally to the Ro-
 mans.

CHAP. XX. These three set out within three days, in company of the Alexandrian ambassadors. Then the commissioners arrived from Macedonia, during the last days of the festival of Minerva. They had been expected with so great impatience, that if it had not been evening, the consuls would have immediately assembled the senate. The next day the senate met, and the commissioners had an audience. They reported, “ That the passes of Macedonia had been forced with greater danger than advantage. The king was master of Pieria, into which the Roman army had advanced : that the two camps were very near each other, being only separated by the river Enipeus. The king avoided a battle, and the Roman army was not in a condition to oblige him to it. The winter also had proved too severe for action. The army however must be maintained, and had not above six days provisions left. The Macedonian army was said to amount to 30,000 men. If Appius Claudius had had a sufficient

“ sufficient body of troops in the neighbourhood of
“ Lychnidus, he would have been able to have made
“ a powerful diversion against the king; but that
“ general, and the troops he had with him, were in
“ very great danger, if a considerable reinforcement
“ was not immediately sent him, or if he was not
“ ordered to quit the post he occupied. That from
“ the camp they had repaired to the fleet, where they
“ had been informed, that part of the men had died
“ of diseases, and part had deserted, in particular the
“ Sicilians had returned home; and that the fleet
“ was in the utmost want of seamen; while those
“ who remained had not received their pay, and
“ wanted cloaths. Eumenes and his fleet, after ha-
“ ving shewn themselves a little, had disappeared al-
“ most immediately, without any good reasons that
“ could be given for it; and that it seemed as if
“ they could not rely upon the disposition of that
“ king: but that as to Attalus, his fidelity was not
“ to be doubted.”

CHAP. XXI. The commissioners being heard, L. Æmilius laid a state of the war before the senate. The senate decreed, “ that for the eight legions a sufficient number of tribunes should be chosen, one half by the consuls and the other by the people; and that none be chosen for that year, except such as had borne some honourable office. Then out of all the tribunes L. Æmilius should have the liberty of chusing whom he thought fit for the two legions which were de-signed for Macedonia, and that when the solemnity of the seriæ Latinæ was over, L. Æmilius the consul, and Cn. Octavius the prætor, who had the command of the fleet, should set out for their provinces.” There was added to them a third, L. Anicius, the prætor to whom the jurisdiction of foreigners had fallen. He was appointed to succeed Ap. Claudius in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyricum. C. Licinius the consul had the charge

charge of the new levies, being ordered to raise 7000 Roman citizens, and 200 horsemen ; and of the Latin allies 7000 foot and 400 horse ; and to write to Cn. Servilius, governor of the province of Gaul, to levy 600 horse. This army he was ordered to send into Macedonia to his colleague with all possible dispatch, for there were not above two legions in that province, which were to be filled up to the number of 6000 foot and 300 horse each. The rest of the foot and horse were to reinforce garrisons, and such of them as were unfit for military service to be discharged. Besides these 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry were levied of the allies. These composed the army of Anicius, besides the two legions he was ordered to carry into Macedonia, consisting of 5200 foot and 300 horse each ; and 5000 men were levied for the service of the fleet. Licinius the consul was ordered to hold his province with two legions, and to add to them 10,000 foot and 600 horse of the allies.

CHAP. XXII. After all these regulations had been made, the consul L. Æmilius went from the senate to the assembly of the people, and made the following speech : “ Romans, I have observed you have done me greater honour, since the province of Macedonia fell to my lot, than either when I was saluted consul, or on the day of my entering upon office ; and that for no other reason, but because you have conceived hopes that this war, which has been spun out to a great length, will be terminated under my auspices, to the glory of the Roman people. I hope also that the gods have favoured this lot, and that they will support me in the management of the war. These things I can partly conjecture, and partly hope for. But this I dare venture to affirm, that I shall use my utmost endeavours not to frustrate your expectation. The senate has regulated every thing necessary for the expedition with which I am charged ;

“ charged ; and as they have ordered me to set out
“ immediately, and I am in readiness, C. Licinius
“ my colleague, full of zeal for the public good, will
“ provide for it with the same ardour and expedition
“ as if it was for himself. You may rely upon the
“ certainty of the advices I shall send either to the
“ senate or you. But I desire that you will not che-
“ rish, by your credulity, flying reports, and such
“ as have no certain author. For even at this time
“ I have observed, that in the manner in which things
“ pass amongst you, especially since the beginning of
“ this war, there is no general, let him contemn com-
“ mon report ever so much, whom the discourses
“ held here would not discourage. There are people
“ who in circles and conversations, and even, may
“ the gods deliver us ! at table, lead armies into Ma-
“ cedonia ; know where they should incamp ; what
“ posts should be seized ; at what time, or by what
“ defile, Macedonia is to be entered ; where it is pro-
“ per to settle magazines ; by what way, either by
“ sea or land, provisions must be brought ; when it
“ is necessary to give the enemy battle, and when to
“ lie still. And they not only prescribe what is best
“ to be done, but if their plan be ever so little de-
“ parted from, they make it a crime in the consul,
“ and cite him to their tribunal. These are great ob-
“ stacles to them that have the management of af-
“ fairs. For all generals have not the steadiness and
“ constancy of Fabius, who chose rather to see his
“ authority insulted by the capricious multitude, than
“ to run the hazard of losing a battle, by endeavour-
“ ing to gain their applause. I am far from believ-
“ ing that generals have no occasion for advice : on
“ the contrary, I think, that whoever takes upon
“ him to direct every thing according to his own
“ mind, shews more presumption than wisdom.
“ What then may be reasonably required ? In the first
“ place, generals are to be advised by men of pru-
“ dence, and such as are well skilled in the art of
“ war,

“ war, and who have learned by experience, what it
“ is to command : and, secondly, by those who are
“ upon the spot, who know the enemy, are capable
“ of judging of different conjunctures, and who, be-
“ ing in a manner embarked on board the same ves-
“ sel, share the same dangers with them. If there-
“ fore any one conceives himself capable of assisting
“ me with his advice in the war with which you
“ have charged me, let him not refuse his services to
“ the commonwealth, but let him accompany me to
“ Macedonia ; he shall have a ship, horses, tents,
“ and provisions, all at my expense. But if he will
“ not take that trouble, but prefers a quiet city life
“ to the fatigues of a campaign, let him not take
“ upon him to steer the vessel, while he remains idle
“ in port. The city itself affords matter enough for
“ talking ; therefore let them set bounds to their
“ prating, and be assured that we shall content our-
“ selves with such advice as shall be given in the
“ camp itself.” After this speech, and celebrating
the feriae Latinæ on the last day of March, the con-
sul and Cn. Octavius immediately set out for Mace-
donia. The consul is said to have been attended by
a greater multitude of citizens than usual on such
occasions and that the people expressed an assured
confidence, that the Macedonian war would be ter-
minated, and the consul soon return victorious and
triumphant.

CHAP. XXIII. Whilst these affairs were carrying on in Italy, Perse, who could not prevail upon him-
self to finish what had been already begun, to wit, an alliance with Gentius king of the Illyrians, because it was expensive ; after he saw the Romans had passed the defiles, and that matters were come to the last push, did not think proper to defer it any longer, but as he had agreed by his ambassador Hippias to pay 300 talents of silver, on condition that hostages should be delivered on both sides, sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty confidants, to see the peace ratified. Pan-
tauchus

tauchus met the Illyrian king at Medeo, in the country of Labeatis: there he received the king's oath, and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympius, to require an oath and hostages from Peres. There went along with him Parmenio and Morcus to receive the money. They, by the advice of Pantauchus, were designed to go as ambassadors to Rhodes in company with some Macedonians; but were ordered first to receive the oath, hostages, and money, and then to set out for Rhodes, that, through the joint influence of the two kings, the Rhodians might be induced to take part in the war. And if they were joined by that state, which then was sovereign at sea, the Romans would have no hopes left either by sea or land. At the approach of the Illyrians, Peres set out from his camp by the river Enipeus, with his whole cavalry, and met them at Dium. There they ratified the articles that had been agreed on, surrounded with a body of horse whom Peres would have to be present at the ratification of the treaty of alliance he had made with Gentius, believing that proceeding would augment their courage. The hostages were exchanged in sight of them all; and those that were to receive the money being sent to Pella to the king's treasury, the ambassadors that were to accompany the Illyrians to Rhodes, received orders to imbark at Theffalonica. Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, affirmed, upon the credit of Dino and Polyartus, the chiefs of that state, that the Rhodians were prepared for war. He was appointed head of the embassy, in conjunction with the Illyrians.

CHAP. XXIV. At the same time he sent ambassadors to Eumenes and Antiochus, with the same instructions to both, being such as the present situation of affairs could suggest: "That there was a natural enmity between kings and free states. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and, to make the indignity the greater,

“ greater, employed the forces of one to ruin another. That his father had been crushed by the assistance of Attalus. That, by the aid of Eumenes; and partly also by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subdued: and that now they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That when the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, it would be Asia’s turn next; of which they had already possessed themselves of a part, under the specious pretext of reinstating the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria would soon after meet the same fate. That they already began to set Prusias above Eumenes by peculiar distinctions of honour; and that they had robbed Antiochus of the fruit of his victories in Egypt. He exhorted them to think on these things, and consider with themselves whether they would compel the Romans to leave Macedonia in peace; or if they persevered in the unjust design of making war upon him, to look upon them as the common enemies of all kings.” The ambassadors acted openly with Antiochus: as to Eumenes, they covered their voyage under the pretext of ransoming prisoners; but they had affairs of a more private nature in agitation, which for the present rendered Eumenes suspected and hateful to the Romans; for they considered him as no better than a traitor and enemy, whilst the two kings were striving to intrap each other through avarice and fraud. Eumenes had an intimate confidant, one Cydas, a Cretan. This man had first conferred at Amphipolis with one Chimerus, his countryman, in the service of Perses; afterwards, at Demetrias, with Menecrates, and another time with Antimachus, two of the king’s captains, under the very walls of the city. Ercpon also, who was then sent, had been twice ambassador to the same Eumenes before. These secret conferences and embassies were indeed suspected; but the subject of them, or what was agreed on between the kings, was not known. The affair stood thus.

CHAP. XXV. Eumenes did not desire that Perse should be victorious, neither had he a mind to make war upon him; not so much on account of the hereditary enmity between the two courts, as of that occasioned by personal injuries and hatred. For such was the emulation betwixt these two kings, that Eumenes could not patiently have endured to see Perse in possession of so much glory and power, as he would have acquired by the conquest of the Romans. He perceived likewise, that Perse, even from the commencement of the war, had tried all means of obtaining peace, and daily the more, as the terror approached nearer, neither acting nor thinking of any other thing. He believed also, that the Roman generals and senate would not be averse from putting an end to a troublesome and incommodious war, that had already been spun out to a much greater length than they at first expected. Having discovered the inclinations of both parties, he therefore determined to use his endeavours for bringing about a reconciliation betwixt them, which he believed might happen of its own accord by the stronger party being wearied, and the weaker under great dread. For he sometimes intended not to give the Romans any assistance in the war either by sea or land; at other times to negotiate a peace between the Romans and Macedonians, and to sell his mediation for 1500 talents. In both agreements he shewed that he was ready not only to pass his word, but also to give hostages. Perse was as ready as could be, to enter into the negotiation, being compelled by fear, and treated without delay about giving hostages: it was agreed, that, upon exchanging them, they should be sent to Crete. But when they came to mention the money, he hesitated, affirming, "That among such respectful kings a bribe was shameful and mean, and more dishonorable to the receiver than the giver." He was willing to be at the expense in hopes of a peace with the Romans, but would not pay the money till the service

service was done, and in the mean time offered to deposite it in the temple of Samothrace. That island being dependent on him, Eumenes did not think the sum any better secured than if it had been at Pella; and insisted that part of the money should be immediately paid down. Thus having in vain endeavoured to intrap each other, neither got any thing but dishonour.

CHAP. XXVI. Nor did Perseus fail in this affair only, through his avarice, when at so small an expense he might have had, by means of Eumenes, a peace which he ought to have purchased even with half his kingdom; and if he had been cheated, might have discovered his enemy while loaden with his money, and deservedly made the Romans his enemies; but he also lost the assistance which king Gentius was ready to give him, and a large body of Gallish troops that had marched into Illyricum, consisting of 10,000 horse and a like number of foot, who kept pace with the horses in running, and made use of the horses of those who happened to be killed. These were to have for each trooper ten pieces of gold, for each foot-soldier five, and for each general a thousand. Upon their arrival Perseus went out to meet them from his camp by the river Enipeus with half his troops, and gave orders that the towns and villages through which they were to pass should have provisions prepared for them in abundance, as corn, wine, and cattle. He brought some presents for the principal officers, as horses, furniture, arms, and lances, and some money which was to be divided amongst a few, believing the multitude might be attracted with hopes. He arrived at the town of Almana *, and incamped on the bank of the river Axius †. The Gallish army having stopt at Desudaba ‡ in Medica, to wait for the pay they had agreed for, he deputed to them Antigonus, one of

* In Mygdonia. † Now Bardarius, rises in mount Scardos, and falls into the Thermaic gulf. ‡ Near Nicopolis.

his principal courtiers, to invite the Gallish multitude to advance forward to Bylazora, a place in Pœonia, and to send a good number of their principal men to him. They were seventy-five miles distant from the river Axios and the king's camp. Antigonus having delivered this message, and enlarged upon the orders the king had given for their good reception in all the places through which they should pass, and the presents their chief men were to receive from him of vests, silver, and horses; they answered, "That as to those things they would know them when they came there, and asked him whether he had brought the gold to be distributed amongst the horse and foot-soldiers, which, according to their agreement, was to be paid down?" As no positive answer was returned, Clondicus, their prince, said, "Go then and tell the king, that till he sends the hostages and money agreed on, the Gauls shall not stir from hence." This being reported to the king, he assembled his council, and foreseeing what their opinion would be, as a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, he expatiated much upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls, adding, that he had experienced by many former losses, that it would be dangerous to suffer so great a multitude to enter Macedonia, lest they should prove more troublesome allies to them, than the Romans did enemies. That 5000 of their horse would be sufficient, whom they might employ in the war, and not fear any harm to themselves from their numbers.

CHAP. XXVII. Every body saw that he only feared the paying of such a multitude, and nothing else; but nobody venturing to give him advice to the contrary, Antigonus was sent back to tell them, that the king had occasion only for 5000 horse; and refused the rest of the multitude. Upon hearing this, these barbarians raised a general murmur and indignation, for having come so far from home to no purpose. Clondicus again asked him, if he would

pay

pay these 5000 what had been agreed upon? And perceiving he returned evasive answers to this also, they dismissed the deceitful messenger without any bad treatment, which he himself had very much apprehended, and resumed their route to the Danube, ravaging Thrace, which was on their way. If, whilst the king continued quiet on the banks of the Enipeus, this body had been brought into Thessaly against the Romans over the defiles of Perrhaebia, they might not only have cut off all provisions from the Romans, by ravaging the country, but even sacked the cities, while Perseus hindered the consul from moving from the Enipeus to succour his allies. Yea the Romans themselves would have been in great danger; since, after losing Thessaly from whence they had their provisions and forage, they could neither have staid, nor marched away, because the Macedonian camp blocked them up on the other side. By this means Perseus encouraged the enemy, and disheartened his own troops, who had their sole dependence on this. By a like instance of avarice he alienated king Gentius from him. For after he had told out the 300 talents at Pella to the Illyrian envoys, and suffered them to steal it, he sent only ten to Pantauchus, as earnest to the king, with orders to those who carried the rest of the money, to make very slow and short journeys, and wait on the frontiers of Macedonia for fresh instructions from him. Gentius having received this small moiety of the money, and being continually teased by Pantauchus, to declare against the Romans, he threw into prison Perperna and Petilius, two envoys who had come to him from Rome. When Perseus received this advice, believing him sufficiently abroiled with the Romans, he sent orders to bring back the money, as if his sole view had been to avenge the wrongs of his countrymen, and to seek wealth for the Romans, against his being vanquished. Eropon also returned from Eumenes,—but he knew what had passed between them. For

they pretended to have negotiated an exchange of prisoners, of which Eumenes, to avoid suspicion, informed the consul.

CHAP. XXVIII. Perseus, disappointed of his hopes, after the return of Eropon from Eumenes, sent Antenor and Callippus, the admirals of his fleet, to Tenedos with forty frigates, to which he added five great galleys, to cruise among the Cyclades, and convoy the storeships to Macedonia. This squadron sailing from Cassandra, first reached the ports that lie under mount Athos, and from thence passing over to Tenedos with a fair gale, they not only dismissed without injury the Rhodian open vessels they found in the haven with Eudamus their admiral, but even gave them marks of kindness. Afterwards being informed that fifty of their own storeships were blocked up on the other side by Eumenes's ships of war, riding in the mouth of the harbour under Damius their admiral, they tacked, and relieving them from all fear of the enemy, sent them to Macedonia under convoy of ten frigates, which were ordered to see them out of danger, and then return to Tenedos. Nine days after they returned to the fleet, which was then riding at Sigeum. From thence they stood over to Subota, an island lying between Elæa and Athos. It happened the next day, when the fleet reached it, that thirty-five transports, coming from Elæa with Gallish horsemen and their horses, were steering towards Phanæ, a promontory of Chios, in order to go to Macedonia, and which were sent from Eumenes to Attalus. A signal being made to Antenor from a watch-tower, that these ships were upon the sea, he sailed from Subota, and fell in with them betwixt the promontory of Erythræ and Chios, where the freight is narrowest. Eumenes's admirals thought of nothing less than of a Macedonian fleet cruising in those seas; sometimes they took them for Romans, and sometimes for Attalus, or some sent by him from the Roman camp, and going .

ing to Pergamus. But when the frigates came so near, that their form could be distinctly descried, and by the motion of their oars, and their prows pointing towards them, they perceived the enemy approaching; they were struck with a panic, seeing no hopes of resisting, both by their ships being unfit for fighting, and the Gauls hardly able to endure the fatigues of the sea. Part of them that were nearest the shore of the continent swam to Erythræa, others setting sail run the ships ashore at Chios, and leaving their horses fled towards the town with precipitation. But the king's frigates having landed their soldiers at a more convenient place near the town, the Macedonians came up with the Gauls in their flight, slew them partly on the road, and partly before the gates; for the Chians had shut their gates against them, not knowing who they were that fled, nor who pursued. Near 800 Gauls were slain, and 200 taken prisoners; part of the horses perished in the sea, by the bulging of the storeships, and part were hamstrung by the Macedonians on the shore. Antenor ordered the same ten frigates which he had sent before, to carry twenty very fine horses to Thessalonica, with the captives; and return to the fleet as soon as possible; for he would wait for them at Phanæ. The fleet rode almost three days before the town. Then they proceeded to Phanæ, and the ten frigates returning sooner than expected, they lunched out into the Ægean sea, and sailed to Delos.

CHAP. XXIX. During these transactions, the Roman ambassadors, C. Popilius, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, sailed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, and coming to Delos, found there forty Macedonian frigates, and five large galleys, belonging to king Eumenes. The sanctity of the temple and island protected them all. Therefore the Romans, and Macedonians, and Eumenes's sailors, mixed and conversed together in the temple, for the veneration of the place afforded them a truce. Antenor, Per-

ses's

ses's admiral, whenever he had notice from the watch-towers of any merchant-ships passing that way, gave them chace with part of the frigates, and, stationing others amongst the Cyclades, either stopt or plundered all, except such as were bound for Macedonia. Popillius and the ships of Eumenes succoured as many as they could; but the Macedonians sailing by night, with two, or oftentimes three, deceived them. Much about the same time ambassadors came to Rhodes from Macedonia and Illyricum. They were the more respected, not only on account of the frigates that were cruising among the Cyclades, and in the Ægean sea, but also of the alliance between Perse and Gentius, and the report of the Gauls coming with a great number of foot and horse. And now Dino and Polyartus, who were of Perse's party, taking courage, not only gave a favourable answer to the kings, but declared openly, " That they would put an end to the war by their mediation; therefore the kings must shew themselves disposed for peace."

CHAP. XXX. It was now the beginning of spring, and the new generals were come to their provinces; the consul Æmilius into Macedonia, Octavius to the fleet at Oreos, and Anicius, who had the management of the war against Gentius, into Illyricum. This Gentius was the son of Pleuratus king of the Illyrians by Eurydica his queen, and had two brothers, Plator of the same parents, and Caravantius by the mother's side only. This brother being the less suspected by him because of the meanness of his father's birth, he slew Plator, and his two favourites Etritus and Epicadus, men of courage, that his reign might be more secure. The report was, that he envied his brother who had been promised Etuta the daughter of Honunus prince of the Dardans to wife, as if by this marriage he had intended to engage the Dardan nation to his interests. And what made this seem more probable was his

his marrying this princess after the death of Plator. He then began to be severe upon his subjects, having nothing to fear from his brother; and the natural violence of his temper was inflamed by immoderate drinking. But, as has been said before, being instigated to a war with the Romans, he assembled all his forces at Lissos, to the number of 15,000 men. From thence having detached his brother with 1000 foot and fifty horse to subdue the Cavian nation *, through force or terror, he himself marched to Basfania †, five miles from Lissos. These were in alliance with the Romans. He sent messengers before to sound their inclinations, but they chose to sustain a siege rather than surrender. Caravantius, upon his coming amongst the Cavians, was kindly received by the inhabitants of Durnium ‡; the other town, Caravantis ||, shut their gates against him; and whilst he ravaged their lands on all sides, some of his stragglers were killed by the peasants who assembled together. By this time Ap. Claudius, having joined to the army he had, the auxiliary troops of the Bullini †, Apolloniates, and Dyrrachians, quitted his winter-quarters and incamped by the river Genusus ++. There hearing of the league between Perses and Gentius, and provoked at the affront offered to the ambassadors, he firmly resolved to make war upon the latter. Anicius the praetor, who was then at Apollonia, hearing what was doing in Illyricum, and writing beforehand to Appius, to wait for him at Genusus, came himself to the camp in three days, and joining to the auxiliaries he had, 2000 foot of the Parthine youth and 200 horse, the former commanded by Epicadus, and the latter by

* A canton of Dalmatia.

† Near the mouth of the Drilo.

‡ Or rather Burnium, now Gracchova in Dalmatia.

|| Unknown.

++ On the Ionian gulf on the west of Macedonia.

Now the Valusia, waters the west of Macedonia, and falls into the Adriatic sea.

Agalsus, prepared to march into Illyricum, to raise the siege of Bassana. But he was stopt in his career, by hearing of the frigates that ravaged the sea-coasts. For Gentius, by the advice of Pantauchus, had sent 80 to ravage the lands of the Dyrrhachians and Apolloniates.

CHAP. XXXI. [Then the prætor sailed against Pantauchus to defend the allies from injuries. His fleet was well equipped and furnished with all necessaries, and besides the old seamen he had on board 500 which, we before observed, were raised for the Illyrian war. But the enemy scarce gave him an opportunity of coming to a decisive action. For what could ships only accustomed to piracies, dare or be able to do against a fleet so well appointed? In consequence, the very sight of it terrified them, and made them by the agility of their ships endeavour to secure themselves by a precipitate flight. Some of the sternmost and slowest of them were sunk at the first attack, and several taken, yielding the Romans an easy victory. However, they were not content with this, but pursued the fugitives, and Anicius coming up with many of them lying close under the islands near the continent, allured them to surrender, with promises of quarter. Presently all the islands subject to Gentius, at the first sight] surrendered themselves. Then the towns of that country did the same, the inclination of their minds being furthered by the clemency and justice of the Roman prætor towards all. From thence they came to Scodra, the chief seat of the war, not only because Gentius had made it the capital of his kingdom, but also because it is by far the best fortified and most inaccessible place in the Labetian nation. It is surrounded by two rivers, Clausala washing it on that side which looks towards the east, and on the west Barbana, which rises out of the lake Labeas. These two streams meeting together fall into the river Orian; which rising in mount Scodus, and receiving

ving into it many waters, falls into the Adriatic sea. Mount Scodrus, by far the highest in that country, has Dardania lying under it towards the east, Macedonia to the south, and Illyricum to the west. Though the town was fortified by its natural situation, and defended by the whole nation of the Illyrians with the king in person ; yet the Roman prætor, since his first enterprises had been successful, believing the whole affair would end as successfully as it had begun, and that a sudden terror would have influence, approached the walls with his army in good order. Now, if they had shut their gates, and defended their walls and the turrets of the gates by placing guards upon them, they might have repulsed the Romans, and rendered their design abortive. But they marched out at the gate, and joined battle upon even ground, with greater courage than they sustained it. For being beaten, and crowding together in their flight, above 200 were killed in the very entrance of the gate ; which struck them with such a terror, that Gentius immediately sent Teuticus and Bellus, chiefs of the nation, to the prætor, demanding a truce, that he might deliberate about the state of his affairs. Three days time was allowed him for this purpose, and the Roman camp being about the distance of half a mile from the town, he went on board a ship, and sailed up the river Barbana into the lake Labeas, as if he had been seeking a retired place to consult in ; but, as it appeared, he was moved with the vain hopes of his brother Caravantius approaching with many thousands of soldiers brought from that country into which he was sent. This rumour proving groundless, the third day after he fell down the river to Scodra in the same ship ; and sending messengers before him, to desire an interview with the prætor, it was granted, and he came to the camp. He began his speech with accusing himself for his mad folly ; at last he poured out supplications and tears, and falling at the prætor's feet submitted.

mitted at discretion. The prætor at first desired him to take courage, and invited him to supper. Then he returned into the city to his men, and that day feasted honourably with the prætor; afterwards he was committed to the custody of C. Cassius a legionary tribune; having scarcely received, one king from another king, the common hire of a gladiator, ten talents, to reduce himself to these circumstances.

CHAP. XXXII. Anicius, having got possession of Scodra, first of all called for Petilius and Perperna the ambassadors, and commanded them to be brought to him. Having restored them to their dignity, he immediately sent Perperna to seize the king's courtiers and relations. Perperna marching to Medion *, a town belonging to the nation of the Labeates, brought Eteleva, Gentius's wife, with his two sons, Scerdiledus and Pleuratus, and Caravanius his brother, to the camp at Scodra. Anicus having put an end to the Illyrian war in thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of the victory, and a few days after king Gentius himself, with his mother, wife, children, and brother, and other chiefs of the Illyrians. Thus one war was finished before it was heard at Rome that it was begun. During these transactions Perses was likewise in great fear, on account of the arrival of Æmilius the new consul, who, he heard, was approaching with great menaces, and of Octavius the prætor. Nor was he less frightened at the Roman fleet and the danger of the sea-coast. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at Thessalonica with a small garrison of 2000 cæstrati. Thither also he sent Androcles, his lieutenant, with orders to incamp under the very arsenal. He sent 1000 horse to Ænia, under command of Antigonus, for the defence of the sea-coast, that at whatever shore they should hear of the enemy's landing, they might immediately give assistance to the coun-

* In the country of the Labeates, and near the lake Scadri.

try-people. 5000 Macedonians were sent to guard Pythium and Petra, under the command of Histæus, Theogenes, and Milo. After these were marched, he began to fortify his bank of the river Enipeus, it being dried up and fordable. And that all hands might be employed in this, the women of the neighbouring towns were compelled to bring victuals to the camp, and the soldiers ordered, from the adjacent woods [to fetch stakes to make a rampart, which was raised quite round the camp with incredible labour and expedition. He also added redoubts, and placed military engines, to prevent the enemy from forcing his lines without the greatest danger and fatigue. By this means he thought himself secure against the whole Roman force, and himself able to hold them at bay, till, deterred and weakened by the difficulties of so long a siege, they should at length quit the enterprise.

CHAP. XXXIII. But by how much the consul saw the Macedonians superior in strength, and taking all precautions to secure themselves, so much the more vigorously did he exert himself, and left no means untried to elude their arts by his own skill, and remove every obstacle to the gaining of his point. His camp was plentifully supplied with provisions out of Thessaly, which lay at his back. However, he was in great want of water; for, by an unusual drought, the nearest river was dried up, and the few springs near, besides their being muddy, were nowise sufficient to supply so great a multitude. By this means great numbers of men and cattle died for want of drink. In consequence, the consul sent to search all about mount Olympus, under which he was incamped, if they could discover any springs: but they brought back word that all was dry. However, he did not despair; but, having attentively considered the nature of the place], he at last ordered the water-bearers to follow him to the sea, which was within 300 paces, and to dig, some at one place and some at

another, on the shore, at moderate intervals. The exceeding high mountains gave him hopes, and the more, because they sent forth no open streams, that they contained secret springs, the veins of which ran into unmixed with the waters of the sea. The surface of the sand was scarce removed, when the springs began to issue out, at first muddy and small, but afterwards clear and in abundance, as it were by the gift of the gods. This affair likewise added greatly to the reputation and authority of the general among the soldiers. Then ordering the soldiers to get ready their arms, himself, with the tribunes and centurions of the first rank, went to reconnoitre the passes; in what place the descent was easy for armed men, and where the ascent was least difficult on the further bank. These things being sufficiently examined, he likewise took care, in the first place, that all things should be done upon the march in an orderly manner and without disturbance, at the nod of the general. In order to this, he declared, that since when the word of command was given in general, it could not be heard by all, and in this uncertainty some, adding to it of themselves, did more than they were commanded, while others did less, which occasioned dissident clamours in all places, insomuch that the enemies came sooner to the knowledge of their designs than they did themselves; it was his pleasure therefore, that a legionary tribune should give the word of command in private to the oldest centurion of the legion; and that he, and so the rest in order, should communicate it to the centurion next to them in rank, whether the orders came from front to rear, or from rear to front. He also introduced a new custom with regard to the sentinels, forbidding them to carry their bucklers with them to their posts; for they did not go out to battle so as to need arms, but to watch, that when they perceived the approach of the enemy, they might retreat and give the alarm to the rest. For they often stood with their helmets

mets on, and their bucklers placed upright before them, and when they were wearied, fell fast asleep, leaning on their javelins, with their heads laid on the tops of their shields ; and the enemy desciued them at a great distance by the brightness of their shields, while they themselves saw nothing. He also altered the method of the advanced guards. The men stood the whole day under arms with their horses bridled ; when this happened in the summer-season, under continual scorching of the sun, a few fresh enemies oftentimes attacked and gave great disturbance to a greater number of them, whilst both themselves and horses were fatigued and ready to faint with standing in the heat for so many hours. Therefore he ordered the morning-guard to go off at noon, and others to relieve them for the afternoon ; by this means the enemy could never come fresh upon them when wearied.

CHAP. XXXIV. Having assembled his troops, and declared that it was his pleasure, to have these things so ordered, he added a speech as steady as that he had made at Rome. " That the general alone ought to take care and consult what was to be done in the army ; sometimes by himself, and sometimes with his council assembled for their advice ; but such as were not consulted, ought neither in public or private to propose their opinions. The soldier ought to mind three things in particular ; to have his body as robust and active as possible, his arms in good order, and victuals ready for sudden expeditions ; knowing that all other concerns were to be left to the immortal gods, and the vigilance of their general. In an army where the soldiers, consul, and general were actuated by vulgar reports, no salutary step could be taken. That he, agreeable to the duty of a general, would take care to give them an opportunity to shew their courage ; but they were not to inquire what was to follow, only when

" the signal was given, then to act the part of good soldiers." With these instructions he dismissed the assembly. The veterans openly confessed, that till that day they had been but novices in the duty of a soldier. They not only shewed by these discourse, with what pleasure they had heard the consul's speech, but the effect of it quickly appeared in their actions. For immediately no body in the whole camp was to be seen idle : some sharpened their swords : some surbished their helmets and cuirasses, others their bucklers and coats of mail ; some put on their arms, and tried how nimbly they could move with them ; others brandished their lances, or flourished their swords and examined their points ; so that one might easil perceive, that the first opportunity they had of coming to blows with the enemy, they would begin the war either with a remarkable victory or memorable death. Perseus likewise perceiving, that, upon the arrival of the co-consul and the spring's coming on, there was a great bustling and motion amongst the enemies, as in a new war, removed from Phila, and incamped on the opposite bank, whilst the Roman went about to view his works, and look for a secure place at which to pass : Perseus, I say, perceiving the consul thus employed, considered that he must act with vigour in such apparent danger ; for he had not now to deal with a Licinius, Hostilius, or Marcius, but with an old experienced, prudent, and vigilant general, who attentively watched every advantage ; was actuated solely by a desire of glory and victory, and who, by various mock representations of battles in his army, was preparing his troops for a real and decisive action. In consequence, the Macedonian also resolved to animate his men as much as possible, to instruct them in exercises, inure them to hardships, to add new works to the old, and fortify his ramparts with machines and engines one above another.

CHAP. XXXV. But while they were thus busied

on

on both sides, advice arrived, that Gentius had been routed by the prætor Anicius, he and all his family taken prisoners, and his whole dominions subjected to the Romans.] This affair increased the courage of the Romans, and caused no small terror to the Macedonians and their king. At first he endeavoured to suppress the report, and sent to forbid Pantauchus, who was coming from thence, to come near the camp: but by this time some of the Macedonian boys, who had been sent as hostages to Illyricum, had arrived in the camp; and the more care that is taken to conceal secrets at court, the more the courtiers blab them. About the same time the Rhodian ambassadors came to the camp with the same instructions concerning a peace, which had given so much disgust to the Fathers at Rome. They were heard with much less patience by the council of war. Accordingly, while some advised to drive them headlong out of the camp immediately without any answer, the consul declared he would give them an answer after fifteen days. In the mean time, that it might appear how little he regarded the authority of the Rhodians, when they pretended to prescribe terms of peace to the Romans, he began to consult about the operations of the campaign. Some, especially those that were advanced in years, thought it best to attack the king in his trenches on the Enipeus, urging, that the Macedonians could not sustain the assaults of so close a body of men all together, after having been driven from so many castles the year before, higher and better fortified, and defended by strong garrisons. Others were of opinion, that Octavius should go to Thessalonica with the fleet, and by ravaging the sea-coast divert the king's forces; so as that another war breaking out behind him, he might be drawn off to defend the inner part of his kingdom, and compelled to leave the passage of the Enipeus open. But to the consul the bank seemed insuperable, not only by nature, but by reason of the

works ; and besides that warlike engines were planted all along it, he was informed, that the enemies could use their missile weapons better and with a surer aim than usual. This general had formed a quite different resolution ; so dismissing the council, he sent for the Pyrrhæbian merchants, Schænus and Menophilus, men of approved fidelity and prudence, and asked them concerning the nature of the passes of Perrhæbia. Upon their informing him, that they were not difficult, but guarded by the king's troops, he conceived hopes, that if he attacked these guards unawares by night, with a strong detachment, he might be able to dislodge them. For javelins, arrows, and other missile weapons were useless in the dark, where one could not see at a distance what to aim at. That it was best fighting hand to hand with swords in a throng, at which the Roman soldiers would have the advantage. Being resolved to make use of these guides, he sent for Octavius the prætor, and informing him of his intentions, ordered him to sail to Heracleum with the fleet, and have ten days provisions for 1000 men ready dressed. He sent P. Scipio Nasica, and Q. Fabius Maximus his son, with 5000 choice men, to Heracleum, as if they were intended to go on board the fleet, to ravage the inner coasts of Macedonia, which had been debated in the council. They were told in private, " that victuals were prepared for them at the fleet, that they might meet with no delay." Then their guides were ordered to settle their routes in such manner, that on the third day, at the fourth watch, they might attack Pythium. Next day, as soon as it was light, the consul, to hinder the king from penetrating his other designs, attacked his advanced guards about the middle of the river. The light troops on both sides were engaged in this attack, because heavy armour could not be used upon such uneven ground. The descent of the bank on both sides into the channel was about 300 paces ; the channel

channel itself, deeper in some places than others, was somewhat above a mile in breadth. In the middle of this was the battle, whilst on one side the king, on the other the consul, with their infantry, were spectators of the skirmish. The king's auxiliaries fought better when at a distance with their missile weapons, but the Romans had the advantage and were better secured at close fighting, both by reason of their round bucklers and Ligurian targets. About noon the consul ordered his men to sound a retreat; so the battle ended for that day, and many were killed on both sides. Next day at sun-rising they renewed the action even with more fierceness, their minds being irritated with the former skirmish: but the Romans were wounded not only by those with whom they were engaged, but much more by that multitude which was posted on the redoubts with all kinds of missile weapons, and chiefly stones: for when they advanced near the bank on the enemies side, even their rear was within reach of their ordnance. After having lost a greater number of men that day, the consul ordered his men to retreat somewhat later than before. The third day he abstained from fighting, having gone down to the lowest part of the field, as if he intended to attempt a passage through that branch of the river, that shelved towards the sea. Perseus, minding only what he had before his eyes, [was solely intent on repulsing the enemy, and void of all other care. In the mean time Natica, with his detachment, was come as far as Heracleum on the sea-coast, as if he intended to attack the enemy's camp with a fleet. But here ordering his men to refresh themselves, he waited the approach of night. Then he communicated the consul's real orders to the centurions, and about dusk turning off towards the mountain, silently took the route to Pythium, agreeable to his instructions. There he arrived after three days march through rugged ways, and found it necessary to refresh his fatigued

fatigued troops with a night's rest. In this expedition he had 200 Cretans. One of these, as they are naturally a treacherous people, coming to the knowledge of the design, deserted to Perseus, and discovered to him, who dreamed of nothing less, whither the detachment was marching. Perseus was confounded at this unexpected advice. He could not quit his camp, to follow Nasica with all his forces, for fear of leaving his frontiers defenceless, for the consul to penetrate into the bowels of his kingdom. He therefore dispatched Milo, one of his principal favourites, with 2000 Macedonians, and 10,000 auxiliaries, with all possible expedition to seize the passes, and hinder the Roman from penetrating that way. Polybius says, the Roman surprised them asleep; but Nasica says, that they fought a bloody and doubtful battle on the brow of the hill; and that among other accidents a Thracian soldier made a thrust at him with his sword, which he put by, and run the fellow through with his javelin. At last, after a long dispute, the Macedonians gave ground, and Milo himself, throwing away his arms, fled with precipitation. That the Romans, by pursuing the fugitives, got an easy and safe descent into the plains. Perseus was greatly embarrassed hereby. For as his camp was unfortified on that side, he could not stay in it with safety. He seemed only to have two ways left; either to retreat to Pydna, and wait for the enemy under the walls of that well-fortified city, where he could risk a battle with less hazard; or to disperse his armies into garrisons, for the defence of his principal cities, and to keep his subjects in awe; and, by carrying into his fortified towns all the corn and cattle, lay the whole country waste before the enemy, who, for want of provisions, and the continual incursions of the Macedonians, would not long be able to subsist. Neither of these he could execute without danger. But the last, besides its being a work of time, by dividing the forces, would

would reduce, as it were, the whole strength of the kingdom to nothing; also, by leaving the frontiers naked, and a way to the heart of Macedonia, it would fill all places with alarm, ravages, fire and sword, and alienate the peasants, destitute of all help, from their allegiance and duty to the king. In consequence, most of his courtiers advised him to the first, to keep his army together, ready for action. For it would both be more glorious and safe to oppose the enemy with his forces entire, before they made a farther progress, and to risk a battle if a fair opportunity should offer. His troops certainly, when they were to fight for all that was dear to them, sacred and civil, their wives and children, in the sight of their prince, and, which was the strongest incitement to behave well, were themselves involved in the danger, would remember the ancient renown of their nation. The king, though loath to risk his all in one action, yet induced by these arguments, prepared for it, and marching to Pydna, assigned each person his post, that, in case of necessity, they might all be ready to fight. It was a champaign country, fit for horse to act in, and not only capable of containing heavy-armed foot; but, as it abounded with little eminences, was convenient for archers and other light troops to make their excursions, and retreat again with safety. Two rivers, the Æso and Leucus, rather divided, than watered the fields, their channels were so narrow, and they had so little water in them at that time. However, they seemed of some advantage, as the passing them would stop the Romans career a little. In the mean time, the consul finding Nasica had opened a way into the enemies country, joined his detachment with the rest of the army. After this he made no delay, but marched directly towards the enemy in a square battalion. However, when he saw them so advantageously posted, and prepared to give him a warm reception, he halted a little to consider

sider with himself every thing that could promise, or deny and obstruct a victory ; and when he had seriously weighed the whole, to take his measures accordingly.

CHAP. XXXVI. The first was now past, and it was towards noon, so that their march was attended with much dust and heat of the sun. They were weary and thirsty, and at mid-day it was evident they would be more so. He therefore resolved not to expose them to a fresh and vigorous enemy in this condition. But the troops on both sides expressed so great an ardour for fighting, that the consul had need of as much art to deceive his own men as the enemy's. As they were not all yet drawn up, he urged the legionary tribunes to make haste to put them in order : he himself went about from rank to rank, and by his exhortations animated them to fight. At first they cheerfully demanded the signal for engaging ; afterwards, as the heat increased, their countenances did not express so great vigour, their voices were fainter, and some of them stood resting on their shields, or leaning on their javelins. Then he publicly ordered the first ranks to pitch their tents, and set down the baggage ; which when the soldiers perceived, some openly rejoiced that he had not compelled them to fight whilst they were fatigued with their march, and in such scorching heat. The foreign generals and captains stood about the consul, and amongst the rest Attalus. All had signified their approbation, when they believed the consul would fight ; for he had not communicated his design of delay even to them. But while, upon the sudden change of his intention, others were silent, Nasica was the only person that took upon him to remonstrate to the consul, begging “ he would “ not suffer the enemy, who had so often eluded “ former generals, to slip out of his hands, by a “ voiding an engagement. For he feared they “ would go off by night, and they should be obli-
“ ged

“ ged to follow them with the utmost fatigue and
“ danger, into the heart of Macedonia ; and the
“ army, like former ones, would be carried about,
“ straggling through the by-ways and forests of
“ the Macedonian mountains. He earnestly advised
“ him to attack the enemy whilst he had him in
“ the open plain, and not lose the opportunity of
“ conquering which had fallen in his way.” The
consul, without being in the least offended at the free
admonition of so illustrious a youth, answered,
“ At your age, Nasica, I was of the same opinion
“ with you ; and you at mine will be of the same
“ with me. I have learned by many chances of
“ war, when to engage, and when to abstain from
“ fighting. It is not worth while, as we now
“ stand under arms, to inform you of the reasons
“ for which I thought it best to avoid an action to-
“ day ; ask the reasons at another time, and at pre-
“ sent be satisfied with the authority of an old ge-
“ neral.” This struck the young man dumb, not
doubting but the consul saw some impediments,
which did not appear to him.

CHAP. XXXVII. Paullus, perceiving the tents
pitched and the baggage settled, first drew off the
triarii from the rear, and then the principes, leaving
the hastati standing in the front, in case the enemy
should move ; and at last even them, beginning at
the right wing, and by degrees drawing off by com-
panies at a time. Thus the infantry were drawn off
without any disorder, while the cavalry, with the
light-armed troops, faced the enemy. Nor were
they called off from their post, till the front of the
intrenchment and fossé were completed. The king
likewise, who had been ready to fight that day with-
out shuffling, brought back his forces to their camp,
contenting himself with their being visible, it was
the enemy's fault they had not come to an action.
The camp being sufficiently fortified, C. Sulpicius
Gallus, a tribune of the second legion, who had
been

been prætor the year before, with the consul's permission, assembled the soldiers, and acquainted them, " That the night following, lest any should take it for an ominous phænomenon, the moon would be eclipsed from seven to ten o'clock. That as this was the effect of a natural cause at stated times, it could both be known and told beforehand. Therefore since they did not wonder at the moon's shining sometimes in her full orb, and sometimes in a small crescent, because both the risings and settings of the sun and moon were determined; neither should they take it for a prodigy, if she was obscured when she came under the earth's shadow." This eclipse of the moon happening as was predicted, on the night between the third and fourth of September, the Roman soldiers thought Gallus inspired. The Macedonians were much affected with it; looking on it as a sad presage of the downfall of their kingdom, and destruction of their nation: nor were their diviners less terrified, insomuch that crying and howling were heard in their camp till the moon recovered her light. The next day both armies were so eager for engaging, that both the king and the consul were blamed by some of their men for retiring without blows. The king had his defence in readiness, not only in that the enemy had first openly declined it, and drawn off his men to their camp; but also because he had drawn up his army in a place where the phalanx, which even a small unevenness of the ground renders useless, could not be brought on. The consul besides that he seemed to have let slip an opportunity of fighting the day before, and given the enemy, if he pleased, an opportunity to go off by night, then also seemed to waste the time under pretext of sacrificing, when the signal had been made for marching to the charge at break of day. At length about nine o'clock, the sacrifice being duly performed, he called a council of war, where he was thought

thought by some to spend the time proper for action in unseasonable talking and deliberations. Nevertheless, after all their speeches, he made the following harangue.

CHAP. XXXVIII. " The illustrious youth Na-
 " sica was the only person of all who were for enga-
 " ging yesterday, that discovered his sentiments to
 " me ; but by his silence afterwards he seemed to
 " acquiesce in mine. Some others took the liberty
 " to blame their general behind his back, rather
 " than admonish him to his face. I will not grudge
 " to give the reasons of my delay, both to you P.
 " Nalica, and to those who thought as you did,
 " though they concealed their sentiments. For I
 " am so far from repenting of my yesterday's inac-
 " tion, that I believe I thereby saved the army.
 " And that none of you may think I have no good
 " reason for this my opinion, if you please recollect
 " with me how many advantages the enemy, and
 " disadvantages we had. Now first of all, how su-
 " perior they were in numbers, I am certain none
 " of you were ignorant of before ; and that you
 " perceived it yesterday, when you saw their ranks
 " so crowded. Of the small number we had, a
 " fourth part was left to guard the baggage ; and
 " you know the most unactive are not wont to be
 " left on this duty. But suppose we had all been to
 " attack together, can it be thought a matter of no
 " consequence, that we are to march to-day, or at
 " farthest to-morrow, into the field, if it shall so
 " seem meet, through the help of the gods, from this
 " camp in which we have rested to-night ? Is there
 " no difference, whether you order a soldier, who
 " hath not been fatigued with marching or working
 " to-day, but rested and fresh, to arm in his tent,
 " and bring him out to the field in high spirits, and
 " vigorous both in body and mind ; or expose him
 " fatigued with a long march, wearied with his bur-
 " den, flowing with sweat, his mouth parched with

“ thirst, his face and eyes filled with dust, scorched
 “ with the heat of the sun in the meridian, to an e-
 “ nemy fresh and rested, who brings his whole
 “ strength with him to battle, without having spent
 “ any of it before ? Who, in the name of the gods,
 “ in so good condition, though a coward or da-
 “ stard, will not conquer the bravest man alive ? Be-
 “ sides, when the enemy had formed themselves at
 “ their leisure, recruited their spirits, and stood or-
 “ derly every man in his rank, must we have made
 “ our dispositions in a hurry, and charged in con-
 “ fusion ?

CHAP. XXXIX. “ You will grant, I suppose,
 “ that our army could not have been formed. Well !
 “ Had we, besides, a fortified a camp; had we pro-
 “ vided a watering-place, posted guards to secure
 “ our retreat, and reconnoitred the circumjacent
 “ posts ; or had we only the bare ground on which
 “ we were to fight ? Your ancestors considered a
 “ fortified camp as a security against all chances that
 “ could befall an army ; from whence they might
 “ march out to battle, and to which, when tossed
 “ with the tempest of it, they might retreat. There-
 “ fore, after they had fortified it with works, they
 “ secured it with a strong guard ; because he who
 “ lost his camp was looked upon as defeated, even
 “ though he had the advantage in the battle. A
 “ camp is a retreat to the conqueror, and a refuge
 “ to the conquered. How many armies after being
 “ worsted in the field, and driven within their lines,
 “ have at a proper opportunity, sometimes in a mo-
 “ ment after, sallied out and beaten their victorious
 “ enemy ? This military seat is another kind of na-
 “ tive city, the trenches serving for walls, and eve-
 “ ry soldier's tent for his dwelling-house. Should
 “ we have fought as vagrants without any quarters
 “ to have retreated to on our being victorious ! To
 “ these difficulties and impediments in the way of
 “ fighting it is objected, What if the enemy had
 “ gone

“ gone off under favour of the night, how much
“ fatigue must we again have undergone in follow-
“ ing him quite to the remotest parts of Macedonia ?
“ But I am fully persuaded that he would neither
“ have staid nor drawn out his forces into the field,
“ if he had resolv'd to quit this place. For how
“ much easier would it have been to have marched
“ off when we were at a great distance than now
“ when we are on his skirts ? He could not deceiv
“ us in retiring either by day or by night. And
“ what ought we to wish for more than to attack in
“ the rear, whilst they are going off in confusion
“ through the open fields, after having quitted their
“ intrenchments, those whose camp, being secured
“ by the steep banks of a river, besides being inclo-
“ sed with a rampart and many turrets, we had un-
“ dertaken to besiege ? These were my reasons for
“ not fighting yesterday. For to come to an en-
“ gagement is what I wish, and for that reason,
“ because the way to the enemy was blocked up by
“ the river Enipeus, I opened a new passage through
“ another post, by dislodging the guards of the ene-
“ my ; nor will I give over till I have vanquished
“ them.”

CHAP. XL. After this harangue there ensued a profound silence, some being brought over to his sentiments, and others fearful of giving offence to no purpose in a matter, which, however it had been neglected, could not be recalled. And indeed it was not with the inclination either of the king or the consul that they engaged even that day; not with the king's, because he was neither to attack them whilst fatigued with their march as the day before, nor drawing up their men in a hurry, or before they were formed; nor of the consul, because neither wood nor forage had been yet brought into his new camp, and because a great part of his soldiers were gone to fetch them from the neighbouring places. Neither general being willing, fortune, which over-rules hu-
H h 2 man

man counsels, brought them to blows. There was a small rivulet near the enemy's camp, from which both the Macedonians and Romans watered, having guards posted on both banks, that they might do it with safety. On the part of the Romans were the Marrucinian and Pelingian cohorts, with two troops of Samnite horse commanded by M. Sergius Silus a lieutenant-general, besides an advanced guard posted before the camp, under C. Cluvius another lieutenant-general, consisting of three cohorts, the Firman, Vestin, and Cremonean, and two troops of horse, the Placentine and Aesernian. Whilst they continued unactive at the river, neither side attacking, about four o'clock a pack-horse getting out of his leader's hands, run over to the further bank. Three Romans followed the horse through the water almost up to their knees, while two Thracians attempted to drag him from the middle of the channel to their side. The Romans killed one of the Thracians, and having recovered the horse returned to their post. On the enemy's side was a guard of 800 Thracians. A few of them at first taking it ill to have their countryman killed in their view, passed the river in pursuit of the murderers; then more of them, and at last the whole guard, and along with it [the troops from the next posts on both sides advanced with ardour. By this means the action began in the water. Some authors say, that the consul ordered the horse to be untied, and drove to the enemies side, and sent men to bring him back, in order to provoke the enemy to be the aggressors. For the first victims were not favourable, though the last were, and the haruspices declared, "That they portended victory to the Romans, provided they acted only upon the defensive, without striking the first blow." Reinforcements flying without orders to the support each of their own party, the action at length became general. For the noise of the few who engaged with ardour at first, made the consul quit his camp. He seeing it both

both unsafe and difficult to recall or stop those who were rushing on with blind fury, thought it best to take advantage of their ardour, and turn chance into an opportunity. Riding therefore along the lines, he by his countenance and gesture, as well as speeches, exhorted the troops to behave gallantly, and in a manner worthy the dignity of the Roman name. In the mean time P. Nasica, who had been detached to reconnoitre the enemy, returned with advice, that Perseus was advancing with all his troops formed into four brigades. In the van were the Thracians, men of fierce aspect, tall and robust, and covered with shining buskins, which they held in their left hands. On their legs they had cuissarts, on their shoulders a black mantle, and carried in their right hands glittering sabres of great size. After the Thracians came the mercenaries of different nations, the greatest part of them with oval bucklers, but differently armed and dressed, after the fashion of their respective countries. Among the rest were some Paeonian mountaineers. The third lined consisted of chosen Macedonian youth, one complete phalanx, glittering in gilded coats of mail, and scarlet cloaks. One part of it was called Leucaspides, because their bucklers were silvered. In its rear were the veteran troops, called Aglaaspides, from their bright brazen shields. The plain was illuminated with the reflection of the sun's rays from these splendid arms, and the neighbouring hills re-echoed their shouts, as they were hastening and animating each other to battle. Neither did the consul delay, but flew to the front of his men. The troops of Perseus, that carried small round bucklers, did not long sustain the attack of the Latin allies. But when the phalanx engaged, the action carried a terrible aspect. For taking their bucklers from their shoulders, they planted them like a rampart before them, and joining their armour close, with their pikes levelled over them, they without danger to themselves wounded the Romans, whose shields were

pierced by the iron points of the enemies spears, and their swords of no use by reason of the length of the Macedonian pikes so that far from reaching their bodies, they could not even reach their bucklers. Tho' this disadvantage made great impression on the consul; yet with an intrepid and chearful countenance, without shield or cuirass, he flew from rank to rank, animating his troops. A centurion, named Sallius, who commanded a Pelignian battalion, roused by the consul's exhortation, snatched the colours from their bearer, and threw them amongst the thickest of the enemy. Hence ensued a bloody attack, while on the one side the rest of the Pelignians exerted their utmost efforts to wipe off the dishonour of losing their colours, and the Macedonians on the other strove with all their might to keep them. The former endeavoured to cut the Macedonian pikes with their swords, beat them down with the bosses of their bucklers, or turn them aside with one of their hands, while the latter grasping them fast with both their hands, with so great vigour repulsed the Pelignians, who rushed on them with a blind fury, that neither their bucklers, helmets, or coats of mail, could ward off the blow. The front-ranks of the Pelignians being thus repulsed, the rest gave ground. While they were retreating towards mount Olocrus, Æmilius, who had rent his robe through rage, ordered them to halt and take courage. For he considered, that it was impossible for the enemy always to keep their close order; but that though it then appeared impenetrable by its indissoluble union, they must break and disunite in some place either for want of room, the inequality of the ground, or uninterrupted attacks. In consequence as those who endeavoured to gain a higher ground, were obliged (though contrary to their inclination) to separate from those below, the nimble from the slow, those who advanced from them that halted, or those who charged from those who had been repulsed, some opening would be

be left, he prayed the officers to watch the opportunity, and divide into single companies, that wherever they could see an opening in the phalanx, they might be ready in form of a wedge to throw themselves into it with the greatest vigour. These orders were punctually executed ; and when they closed in small detachments, the short bucklers and small swords of the Macedonians were no wise comparable to the heavy arms of the Romans. The inequality was still greater between the resolution, courage, and skill in managing the arms of one and the other ; and as the close order of the phalanx was broken and disunited, it was easy to run them through either in flank or rear. Here M. Porcius Cato, son of the censor, and son in law to Æmilius, performed a bold and memorable exploit.

CHAP. XLI. During the conflict, as he was fighting very eagerly, his sword happened to drop out of his hand, by which means he lost it. But resolved to die rather than suffer any thing belonging to him to remain in possession of the enemy, he sought out in the battle several friends of distinguished bravery, and with them opened himself a passage through the enemy's darts to the place where the battle was hottest. He rushed with so great fury into the thickest of them, that driving them away with great slaughter, he found his sword in the void place, and carried it off with him. In this disposition of things, the first legion, full of spirits, and following with alacrity, was] brought on to the charge by the consul. They were moved with the dignity of his orders, his personal reputation, and above all with his age, who, though above sixty years old, performed the duties of a young man, taking a chief part of the toil and danger. The legion entered the interval between the cætrati and phalanx, and broke the order of the enemy's battalia. It was in the rear of the cætrati, and fronting the targeteers, called Aglaspides. L. Albinus, a man of consular dignity, was ordered

ordered to lead the second legion against the phalangites called Leucaspides, who were in the centre. On the right wing, where the fight had begun, near the river, the elephants were brought in, and a squadron of the allies horse. Here the flight of the Macedonians first began. Yet as the most part of new human devices have force in words, but upon trial, when it becomes necessary to act, not to discourse on the manner of acting, they vanish without any effect; so at that time the elephants were only a name in the army without use. The Latin allies seconded the assault of the elephants, and broke the left wing. In the centre the second legion charged, and broke the phalanx. This victory was most evidently owing to the small companies that first disordered and then routed the phalanx, whose force is irresistible whilst it continues compact with spears extended in front. If by attacking them in different places they are forced to turn their long unwieldy spears, they are strangely intangled; but if charged in flank or rear, they are put into downright confusion: as at that time when compelled to make head against the Romans, who rushed in upon them in companies at some distance from each other, and where-ever any openings were made, occupied the space in small companies: whereas if they had charged with their whole army in one front against the phalanx in its proper order, which happened to the Pelignians, who charged the cætrati rashly at the beginning of the fight, they would have been intangled among the spears, and unable to bear the shock of such a compact body.

CHAP. XLII. However, as the foot were slaughtered every where, unless such as threw down their arms and fled; so the cavalry went off the field almost untouched. The king himself began the flight, and was by this time on his march from Pydna to Pella, with his horse-guards. Cotys immediately followed with the Odrysian cavalry, the rest of the
Macedonian

Macedonian horse went off with their ranks entire; for as the infantry was between them and the victors, the latter were so busy in slaughtering the foot, that they had no thoughts of pursuing the horse. During a long time the phalanx was slaughtered in front, flank, and rear. At last those that escaped the enemy's sword, fled unarmed towards the sea, where some even entered the water, stretching out their hands to those that were in the fleet, and in an humble manner begging quarter. And when they beheld boats coming off every where from the ships, believing they came to take them up as prisoners, rather than to kill them, some swam farther in to meet them. But being wounded in a hostile manner from the boats, those that were able swam back to land, where they fell into another more grievous disaster: for the elephants being driven by their riders to the shore, trod them under foot and crushed them as they came out. The Romans unanimously agreed, that never such a number of Macedonians were killed in one battle. For about 20,000 were slain, 6000 which had fled from the battle to Pydna were taken prisoners, besides 5000, who fell into their hands as they were straggling in the flight. Of the conquerors not above 100 were killed, the far greater part of whom were Pelignians; however, a greater number were wounded. If the action had begun more early, so that the victors had had day sufficient to pursue them, the whole army had been destroyed; but night coming on, both concealed the fugitives, and made the Romans slack in following them through places unknown.

CHAP. XLIII. Perse, attended by his court, and a considerable body of horse, took the road to the forest of Pieria. When come to the wood, in which were many different roads, it being late in the day, he, by mistake, took a wrong road with a few of his most trusty confidants. The cavalry, being left without a general, separated, and went every man

to his own city ; and only a few having held in the right road arrived at Pella before the king. The king was perplexed till near midnight with fear, and divers difficulties on the way. He found in the palace Enetus, governor of Pella, and his pages, ready to attend him. On the other hand, none of his friends that had escaped from the battle by different chances and got to Pella, came near him, though often sent for. He had only three companions in his flight, Evander a Cretan, Neon a Boeotian, and Archidamus an Ætolian. With these he had fled away at the fourth watch, already fearing lest those that had refused to come to him, should quickly make some bolder attempt. About 500 Cretans followed him to Amphipolis. He had left Pella in the night in order to cross the Axios before day ; believing the Romans would stop their pursuit there, because of the difficulty of passing it.

CHAP. XLIV. The consul, having returned to the camp, could not taste the joy of his victory, through the anxiety he felt on missing his youngest son. This was P. Scipio, who was afterwards surmained Africanus, for ruining Carthage. He was the real son of the consul Paullus, but grandson of the first Africanus by adoption. He was then but seventeen years of age, a circumstance which increased the father's anxiety. As he pursued the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried by the crowd away from the rest of the army. However, he returned late at night, and upon his safe arrival the consul at last tasted the joy of so great a victory. The report of the battle having by this time reached Amphipolis, and the women flocking together into the temple of Diana Tauropolis, to implore her protection, Diodorus, governor of the town, fearing lest the Thracian garrison, consisting of 2000 men, should pillage it during the tumult, received a forged letter in the middle of the forum, from one whom he had suborned to personate a courier.

rier. The contents of it were, "That the Roman fleet had made a descent at Emathia, and were harassing the country thereabouts : that the commanders in chief at Emathia begged he would send them assistance against these ravagers." After reading this, he exhorted the Thracians "to march to the defence of the Emathian coast ; where they might make a great slaughter of the Romans straggling about the country, and get a rich booty." He also lessened the report of Perse's defeat. "If it was true," said he, "the fugitives would have come one on the heels of another." By this means he got rid of the Thracians, and as soon as he saw them pass the Strymon *, shut the gates.

CHAP. XLV. The third day after the battle Perse came to Amphipolis ; from thence he sent a trumpet to Paullus with a caduceus. In the mean while Hippias, Mido, and Pantauchus, the chief of the king's friends, went to the consul, and surrendered Berœa, whither they had fled after the battle. Other cities being struck with fear, resolved to follow the example. The consul having sent Q. Fabius, his son, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus to Rome with the news of his victory, granted his infantry the spoils of the enemy's routed army. He suffered his cavalry to pillage the adjacent country, provided they should not be above two nights absent from the camp. He himself incamped at Pydna near the sea. Berœa first, then Thessalonica and Pella, and afterwards almost all Macedonia, submitted within the space of two days. The Pydnians, who were nearest, had not yet sent ambassadors ; for a mixed multitude composed of different nations, and the crowd which had assembled there after their flight from the battle, obstructed the deliberations and resolutions of the inhabitants, and their gates

* Now Stremona, rises in mount Crbeles, and runs into the *AEGEAN* sea.

were not only shut, but even built up with bricks. Mido and Pantauchus, being sent up to the walls to confer with Solon, who commanded the garrison, he sent out the crowd of soldiers. The town having surrendered, was abandoned to be plundered by the soldiers. Perseus having attempted his last resource, to get assistance from the Bisaltæ, to whom he had in vain sent ambassadors, appeared in their assembly attended by his son Philip; that by his exhortations he might encourage the minds both of the Amphipolitans, and the horse and foot, who had either been his constant followers, or happened to come thither in their flight. But being several times interrupted in his discourse by his tears, and not able to finish his harangue himself, he told Evander the Cretan what he would have said to the assembly, and went down from the tribunal of harangues. The multitude, though melted into tears, and sighing bitterly at the sight of the king and his melancholy tears, yet despised Evander's harangue. Nay, some had the assurance to cry out in the midst of the assembly, "Be gone from hence, that we few who are left, "be not involved in your ruin." This boldness stopped Evander's mouth. The king returned to his lodging, and having carried his treasures, both the gold and silver, on board some pinnaces that lay in the Strymon, followed the course of the river. The Thracians, afraid of the sea, departed to their own homes with crowds of other soldiers. The Cretans followed Perseus still, in hopes of sharing his treasures; and because there was more ill will than thanks to be got by dividing it amongst them, fifty talents * were laid on the shore as a booty to them. After getting this prey, they hurried on board the boats in so tumultuous a manner, that they sunk one in the mouth of the river by overloading her. That day they came to Galepsus †, and the next day they

* 9687 l. 10 s.

† On this side the Hebrus, near the mouth of the Nessus.
reached

reached Samothracia, whither they were bound. Perseus is said to have carried about 2000 talents * thither.

CHAP. XLVI. Paullus, having dispatched governors to all the towns that had submitted, that no injury might be done to the conquered in the time of peace; and keeping the king's trumpet with himself, sent P. Nasica to Amphipolis with a detachment of horse and foot, not knowing of the king's flight from thence. This officer also had orders to ravage Sintice, and oppose all the king's attempts. In the mean while Melibœa was taken and plundered by Cn. Octavius: and at Æginium, which Cn. Anicius the lieutenant was sent to besiege, 200 were lost by a sally from the town, the Æginians not knowing that the war was at an end. The consul marching from Pydna with his whole army, in two days reached Pella, and having encamped about a mile from it, staid there for some days, viewing the situation of the town on every side, which he observed to have been chosen for the residence of the court not without reason. It is situate on a rising ground looking towards the north-west, surrounded with a marsh of unpassable depth, both summer and winter, by the overflowing of lakes. In that part of the marsh nearest the town rose, as it were, an island, upon a mound of prodigious work, which was able to support a wall, and received no injury from the moisture of the surrounding fens. It seemed at a distance to be joined to the town-wall, but was separated by a river, with a bridge cross it; so that there was no passage for a besieger from without, nor no way for any whom the king had shut up there, to escape, except by the bridge, which was very easily guarded. Here the king's treasure was kept; but at that time no more was found than the 300 talents, which had been sent to king Gentius, and afterwards stopped. Whilst the army continu-

* 387,500 l.

ed at Pella, several ambassadors, especially from Thessaly, who had come to congratulate the consul, received their audience. Afterwards advice arriving that Perse had gone to Samothrace, the consul set out from Pella, and reached Amphipolis in four days. The whole multitude running out to meet him, made it evident to all the world, that the king by his ill conduct, injustice, and rapines [had lost the affections of his subjects, who rather hated than loved him. At Amphipolis the consul ordered a sacrifice to thank the gods for so signal a victory. They testified their acceptance by a prodigy : A fire from heaven lighted the wood laid on the altar ; by which Jupiter seemed not only to approve of the victor's vows and prayers, but to ratify the honour and worship paid to himself. After that the consul set out after Nasica, who had been detached to ravage Sintice, and entered Odomantice, at the foot of mount Orbelos, and on the confines of Dardania and Thrace, that he might leave no enemy behind him, nor any place that had not felt his victorious arms. From thence he removed to Siræ, where he continued incamped for some time.]

BOOK XLV.

A B R I D G M E N T.

- I. News of the victories in Macedonia and Illyricum brought to Rome. IV. Perse writes to Æmilius, who weeps at the receipt of his letter. V. Octavius the praetor arrives at Samothrace with the fleet, takes Perse prisoner. XII. Popillus obliges Antiochus to answer immediately. XIII. Masgaba son of Masinissa arrives at Rome. XV. The freedmen enrolled in the Esquiline tribe. XVII. Commissioners sent to settle the affairs of Macedonia and Illyricum. XVIII. They are declared to be free. XIX. Ambassadors from several states arrive with congratulations, and among others Attalus brother of Eumenes, XX. The

The Rhodians dismissed without being declared either enemies or allies. XXVI. *Anicius, the prætor, reduces Epirus.* XXVII. *Æmilius reduces the states bordering on Macedonia. Makes a tour through Greece.* XXIX. *Macedonia divided into four cantons. Made a Roman province.* XXXI. *Æmilius orders all the noblemen of Macedonia, and the other states to follow him to Rome.* XXXII. *Gives them a body of laws. Exhibits games.* XXXIII. *Sets out for Rome.* XXXV. *Debates about Æmilius's triumph.* XXXIX. *His triumph, which lasts three days, is damped by the death of two of his sons.* XLIII. *Anicius triumphs for the Illyrians.* XLIV. *Prusias king of Bithynia arrives at Rome.*

CHAP. I. **T**Hough Q. Fabius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who were sent to Rome with the news of the victory, made all possible haste, yet at their arrival they found the city in transports of joy on account of it. For the fourth day after the battle with the king, whilst the games were celebrating in the circus, a report spread among the spectators, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and the king defeated. It occasioned at first some noise among them, they sent up a general shout, with clapping of hands, as if they had received certain intelligence of the victory. The magistrates were surprised, and inquired after the author of this sudden good news; but finding none, the uncertainty somewhat abated their joy: however they still entertained hopes, looking on this as a good omen. And finding the news confirmed by Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, they rejoiced not only on account of the victory, but of the presages of their own minds. But there is another no less probable account of the premature joy in the circus. A courier, who affirmed he came from Macedonia, delivered a letter on the 22d of October, and second day of the Roman games, to C. Licinius, as he was going to give the signal for the chariots to start, containing an account of the

victory. Upon this, as soon as the chariots were started, he mounted his own, and riding round the circus to the spectators seats, shewed the people the letter. As soon as they saw it, they, without minding the races, run full speed into the midst of the circus, where the consul immediately summoned the senate, and, by authority of the Conscript Fathers, informed the people, “ That his colleague L. Æmilius had “ fought a pitched battle with Perses ; the army “ of the Macedonians was routed and cut to pieces ; “ the king had escaped with a few of his guards, “ and that all Macedonia was reduced under the “ Roman subjection.” As soon as they heard this, they sent up loud huzzas and acclamations, and quitting the forum went home to acquaint their wives and children with this joyful news. This happened on the thirteenth day after the battle.

CHAP. II. The next day the senate met and appointed public thanksgivings. They also made a decree, “ That the consul should disband all the “ army except the ordinary number of land and sea “ forces, the discharging of whom should be deferred “ till ambassadors should arrive from Æmilius, who “ had only sent a courier with news of the vic- “ tory.” Before the 26th of October, about eight o'clock, the ambassadors entered the city, followed by great crouds of people, which always increased till they came to the forum. The senate was then sitting, and immediately gave them audience. The Fathers detained them only till they informed them, “ of what number the king's army consisted, “ how many of it were killed and taken prisoners, “ how few men the consul had lost, how great a “ carnage there was of the enemy, and with what “ a handful the king had escaped ; that they ima- “ gined he had retired to Samothrace, whither the “ fleet was ready to go in quest of him, so that he “ could not escape either by sea or land.” A little after they made the same recital to the people, whose joy

joy was renewed when the consul ordered all the temples to be opened, and that all should directly leave the assembly to return thanks to the gods. They were crowded with women as well as men. The senate, being again assembled, decreed public thanksgivings for the victory obtained by the consul **Aemilius**, and that the greater sacrifices should be offered. They farther voted, that the ships which were ready to set sail to Macedon, should be countermanded, and laid up in their respective ports; that their crews should be discharged, and a year's pay given them, with all the troops which had taken the military oath to the consul: also the soldiers that lay at Coreyra and Brundisium near the Adriatic sea, and in the country of the Larinates, were likewise to be dismissed, for they had the army posted in those places, that **Licinius** might aid his colleague in case of necessity.

CHAP. III. Two ambassadors arrived from Illyricum with the news, that the Romans had defeated the Illyrians, taken Gentius their king prisoner, and that Illyricum was now under the Roman subjection. The senate appointed public thanksgivings for three days on account of this victory, gained by the conduct and under the auspices of the prætor **Anicius**; and the consul appointed the feriæ Latinæ to be celebrated on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of November. Some annalists say, that the Rhodian deputies were just arrived at Rome, and after the news of the victory had their audience of the senate out of derision. That Agesipolis, chief of them, made the following speech. “ We were sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace between the Romans and Perses, because that war was burdensome and pre-judicial to all Greece, expensive and hurtful to you. However, fortune has been highly favourable in terminating the war by other means, and giving us only an opportunity of congratulating you on your signal victory.” Thus spoke

the Rhodian, and the senate replied, “ The Rhodians sent you, neither out of regard to the interests of Greece, or our expenses in the war, but solely to oblige Perses ; for had the former been your design, as you pretend, you would have been sent two years before when Perses led his victorious troops through Greece, besieging some cities, and by menaces obliging others to surrender. But at that time you had not so much as thoughts of peace. Now when you understood, that the Romans had penetrated into Macedonia by almost insuperable defiles, and that Perses was hemmed in on all sides, your state sent their ambassadors with no other view than to extricate Perses from his perilous circumstances.” With this answer they were dismissed.

CHAP. IV. About the same time, M. Marcellus returned from Spain, where he had taken a considerable city, Marcola *. He brought into the public treasury ten pound weight of gold, with about 10,000 sesterces. The consul *Æmilius*, who, as we said above, had incamped near Siræ, in the Odomantic country, received a letter from Perses, sent by three contemptible deputies. Upon receipt of it, it is said he wept at the vicissitudes of human affairs. Perses, who not contented with the kingdom of Macedon, but had attacked the Dardans and Illyrians, and called in the Bastarnæ to his aid, after having lost his army, and been banished his kingdom, was now forced to take shelter in a small island, where the sanctity of the place, not arms, secured him. But when he read these words, *King Perses to the consul Paullus, health,* the stupidity and ignorance of that prince with respect to his condition, stifled in him all sense of compassion ; and though the rest of the letter was more humble than became a king, yet he dismissed the deputies without any answer either written or verbal. Perses then became sen-

sable, that as he was vanquished, he must forget his regal title. Accordingly he sent a second letter using only his name, not quality. In this he desired and obtained that some proper persons might be sent to confer with him concerning his present unfortunate situation. P. Lentulus, A. Postumius Albinus, and A. Antonius, were sent to him : but this embassy proved abortive, as Perse would not quit his title of king, while Pallus insisted on his submitting at discretion.

CHAP. V. During these transactions, the fleet under Cn. Octavius landed at Samothrace. Besides the present alarm, he endeavoured, sometimes by menaces, and at others by promises, to induce Perse to surrender to the Romans. An incident, either accidental or designed, favoured him in this. For L. Atilius, a noble young Roman, perceiving the people of Samothrace met in an assembly, desired leave of the magistrates to speak. Having obtained his request, he said, “ My hospitable friends of Samothrace, is it with or without foundation, that we have been told, that this island is said to be holy, and sacred, and inviolable through its whole extent ? ” When they all declared the sanctity of the place, “ Why then,” continued he, “ is a murderer, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes, suffered to violate it ? As all sacred ceremonies begin, by excluding all whose hands are not pure, how can you permit your temple to be profaned, by the presence of an infamous homicide ? ” It had been commonly reported in all the cities of Greece, that Evander had attempted Eumenes’s life at Delphi. Therefore since they, their island, and temple were now in the power of the Romans, and fearing they should be deservedly reproached with harbouring an assassin, they sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, to whom they gave the title of king, to acquaint Perse, “ That Evander the Cretan was accused of murder. That they had an established law, hand-

“ ed.

" ed down from their ancestors, concerning such as
 " brought polluted hands within the sacred bounda-
 " ries of the temple. If Evander was innocent, he
 " might appear and justify himself before the judges ;
 " but if he would not submit to a trial, he must con-
 " sult his safety, and quit the asylum." Perseus sent
 for Evander, and told him, that he would not by any
 means advise him to submit to the trial, for he was
 afraid, lest, upon his being found guilty, he himself
 should be reputed the author of that atrocious crime,
 and that nothing remained for him, but to die bravely.
 Evander seemingly complied with his advice, but told him he chose rather to die by poison than
 the sword : mean time he privately provided for his
 escape. The king being informed of this, ordered
 him to be murdered, lest he should draw the wrath of
 the Samothracians upon himself for screening the cri-
 minal from the punishment he deserved. As soon as
 he had rashly committed the fact, it immediately oc-
 curred to him, that he was now as criminal as Evan-
 der, who had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, as he had
 killed Evander at Samothrace. Thus two of the most
 sacred temples in the world were contaminated with
 blood. However, to palliate the crime, he bribed
 Theondas, to tell the people, that Evander had kill-
 ed himself.

CHAP. VI. This horrid murder of the only friend
 he had left, whose fidelity he had tried in many ad-
 versities, and betrayed because he would not be a
 traitor, so far alienated the affections of all people,
 that they went over to the Romans, and forced him,
 thus abandoned to himself, to contrive his escape.
 He sent for Oroandes a Cretan, who was well ac-
 quainted with the coast of Thrace, having traded all
 along it for some time, to take him on board his
 ship, and carry him to Cotys. The bark lay in port
 at Demetrium, a promontory of Samothrace. About
 sun-set they embarked all their necessaries, with as
 much money as they could, privately. At midnight
 the

the king, with three attendants, privy to his flight, went out at a back-door into a garden near his house, and so came to the harbour. But Oroandes had weighed anchor as soon as the money was embarked, and sailed for Crete. Perse, finding the ship was gone, walked for some time upon the shore, but fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, hid himself on one side of the temple, near an obscure corner. In Macedonia the children of the nobility who were chosen to attend the king, were called royal pages. This band followed the king, till Cn. Octavius ordered an herald to proclaim, that all the king's household and other Macedonians, then residing in Samothrace, upon their surrendering to the Romans, should have their lives, liberties, and all the effects they had either there or in Macedonia. Upon this they all surrendered, and gave a list of their names to C. Postumius a legionary tribune. Ion the Thessalonian also delivered Perse's children to Octavius; so that none remained with him but Philip his eldest son. Then he surrendered himself and his son to Octavius, accusing the gods, who had not protected him when he fled into their temple for refuge. He was ordered to be put on board the admiral's ship, with the money that remained. The fleet immediately sailed back to Amphipolis. Octavius sent the king to the consul, who was then in the camp, having before sent him advice of his being taken, and that he was bringing him with him.

CHAP. VII. The consul, looking on this as a second victory, as it really was, immediately offered sacrifices to the gods, and assembling the troops, read the letter. Then he detached Q. Aelius Tubero to escort the king, ordering many of the other officers to stay in his own tent. Scarce was ever show so much crowded as this. Syphax indeed had been taken, and carried to the Roman camp in memory of their fathers; yet he was not to be com-
pa-
red

red with Perse either in personal renown or that of his country ; for Syphax was only an ally in the Punic war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian : but Perse was the head of the war, and illustrious not only by his reputation, and that of the father and grandfather from whom he was descended ; but Philip and Alexander the Great, who had made Macedonia the capital of the world, reflected an additional lustre upon him. Perse entered the camp dressed in mourning, attended by none of his own family to aggravate his misery by being themselves in the same condition. He could not move forward for the crowd that pressed to see him, till the consul ordered the lictors to clear the way to the prætorium. Æmilius rose up, and ordering every body to continue sitting, advanced a few steps, took the king by the hand as he entered, and raising him when he fell prostrate at his feet, brought him into his tent, and seated him opposite to those who formed the assembly.

CHAP. VIII. His first question was, “ What in-
“ jury had induced him to undertake a war with so
“ much inveteracy against the Romans, by which
“ he had utterly ruined both himself and his king-
“ dom ?” As, instead of the answer they expected, he remained silent, with his eyes fixed on the ground ; the consul continued : “ Had you ascended
“ the throne in your youth, I should be less surpri-
“ sed to find you ignorant, of what importance it
“ was to have the Romans your friends or enemies.
“ But when you were personally engaged in the war
“ which your father made against us, and might
“ have remembered the peace, which we observed
“ inviolably, how could you chuse war preferable to
“ peace, with a people, whose valour in war and
“ fidelity in peace you had experienced ?” As he made no more reply to this accusation than to the former question, the consul added, “ Whether these
“ things have happened either through mistake, to
“ which

“ which every man is liable, chance, or inevitable
“ destiny, take courage. For the clemency the Ro-
“ mans have shewn to many other unfortunate kings
“ and states, may inspire you not only with hope,
“ but almost an assured confidence of safety.” This
he spoke in Greek to Perse, and then in Latin ad-
dressed the assembly : “ You have before your eyes,”
said he, “ a remarkable instance of the inconstancy
“ of human affairs. I principally direct my dis-
“ course to you, young men. You ought not to
“ insult any person when in your prosperity, nor
“ rely too much on your present good fortune ; you
“ know not what changes a night may produce.
“ He only is a man of real courage and merit, who
“ is not elated in good nor dejected in bad fortune.”
Having dismissed the assembly, he gave Ælius the
care of the king. The same day Perse was invited
to sup with the consul, and all other honours, con-
sistent with his present condition, were conferred on
him.

CHAP. IX. The army was then sent into winter-
quarters ; the greatest part to Amphipolis, and the
rest to the neighbouring cities. Thus terminated
the war between the Romans and Perse, after ha-
ving continued four years ; and thus ended the most
splendid kingdom in Europe, and almost in Asia.
Perse was reckoned the thirty-ninth king from Ca-
ranus, the first that reigned in Macedonia. He be-
gan his reign in the consulate of Q. Fulvius and L.
Manlius, and was recognised king by the senate,
under the consuls M. Junius and A. Manlius : he
reigned eleven years. Macedonia was an obscure
kingdom till the time of Philip son of Amyntas.
Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it be-
gan to make acquisitions ; but all within the con-
fines of Europe : it then comprehended all Greece,
with part of Thrace and Illyricum. Then it ex-
tended into Asia, and, during the thirteen years of
Alexander's reign, all the Persian empire was added

to it. Then he pursued his conquests on one side as far as Arabia, and on the other to India, which was reckoned the extremity of the world, bounded by the Red sea. Then the Macedonian empire was at its height ; but upon Alexander's death was divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, by his successors, each ingrossing as much as he could to his own share. From this towering height it was totally subverted, after it had subsisted 150 years.

CHAP. X. When the news of the Roman victory reached Asia, Antenor, who lay at Phanæ with his fleet, sailed for Cassandrea. C. Popillius, who lay at Delos, to protect the ships bound to Macedonia, after he heard the war was terminated, and the enemy's fleet beat from their station, dismissed the Athenian ships, and proceeded on his destined embassy to Egypt, that he might meet Antiochus before he approached Alexandria. As the ambassadors passed by Asia, and came to Loryma, a port about twenty miles distant from Rhodes, exactly opposite to that city, the principal citizens met them (for the report of the victory had even reached them), conjuring them to come there, “ Because it would tend to the safety and reputation of their state, that they should know all the past and present transactions of the Rhodians, and carry back an account to Rome of what they had been eyewitnesses of, and not what they had learned by common report.” The envoys refused for a long time, but were at length prevailed on to stop their voyage a little, for the benefit of an allied city. When they landed at Rhodes, the people, by the same intreaties, brought them into their public assembly. However, the arrival of the ambassadors rather augmented than diminished their fears ; for Popillius recounted all the hostile words and actions which had been uttered and committed during the war, either by individuals, or consent of their state.

Besides,

Besides, being a man of an imperious temper, he enhanced the atrociousness of the crimes he recounted, by the severe air of his countenance, and talking in the strain of an accuser: insomuch, that since he could have no private pique at them, they could easily, from the severity of this one senator, conjecture, how the senate in general stood affected to them. Caius Decimius spoke with more moderation. He said, “the people were not to be blamed, “ but a few incendiaries, who instigated the rabble. “ Those sycophants, whose tongues were venal, “ had dictated decrees that flattered the Macedonian “ in the most abject manner, and had sent to him “ embassies, of which their state was both ashamed, “ and would always repent. But, if the Roman “ people had it in their power, all these mischiefs “ should turn to the destruction of the guilty.” He was heard with applause, not because he had lessened the guilt of the people, rather than laid the blame on those who were really criminal. Wherefore, when their chief men answered the Romans, the discourses of some of them, endeavouring to extenuate the crimes Popillius had charged them with, were by no means so grateful, as the speeches of those who with Decimius declared for bringing the real criminals to condign punishment. In consequence a decree was immediately passed, “ condemning all who should be convicted of having “ said or done any thing in favour of Perses against “ the Romans.” But on the arrival of the Romans, some of the guilty had quitted the city, and others laid violent hands on themselves. The ambassadors staid only five days at Rhodes, and immediately set out for Alexandria. However, the Rhodians did not delay the execution of their sentence, which perseverance was the effect of Decimius’s moderation.

CHAP. XI. During these transactions, Antiochus, having in vain attempted to take Alexandria, quitted

the siege, and having got possession of all the rest of Egypt, retired to Syria, leaving at Memphis the elder Ptolemy. He had covered his invasion under pretext of conquering that kingdom for him, while his real design was to attack which ever of the brothers should be victorious. Ptolemy penetrated this his design : concluding therefore, that while his brother was terrified at the thoughts of a siege, he might by means of his sister and his brother's ministers, who would not be averse to it, be received with welcome at Alexandria ; he immediately sent one messenger after another, first to his sister, then to his brother and his courtiers, till he had made peace with them. What rendered Antiochus suspected, was, that after the rest of Egypt had surrendered to him, he had left a strong garrison at Pelusium, by which it appeared he intended to secure the inlets to Egypt, that he might re-enter it with his army when he pleased ; and that the issue of the intestine war between the two brothers would be such, that which ever of them proved victorious, would be so exhausted by the war, as not to be a match for him. The elder brother very prudently considered these things, and the younger, with consent of his ministers, approved of them as just. Their sister forwarded the design, not only by her advice, but also by her intreaties. In consequence, both parties unanimously concluded a peace, and even with consent of the multitude Alexandria was restored. It was sore pressed for want of provisions, not only during the siege, but after it was raised, because they had no supplies from Egypt. This reconciliation ought to have been matter of joy to Antiochus, if he had entered Egypt with the design of restoring the elder Ptolemy, as he speciously pretended to the ambassadors that came to his court, and by letters to all the states of Asia and Greece. But, on the contrary, he was so much chagrined, that he prepared to attack them both with greater ardour and fury, than he had done formerly

one of them. He directly dispatched his fleet for Cyprus, and early in the spring, marching his army back to Egypt, advanced as far as Cœlo-Syria. Near Rhinocolura he met ambassadors from Ptolemy, who thanked him, “that by his means he had been reinstated in his paternal kingdom; desiring at the same time that he would secure him in what he had generously acquired for him, and inform him, what he would have done, rather than of an ally become an enemy, and proceed by force and arms.” He answered, “He would neither lead back his army nor fleet till they resigned to him Cyprus and Pelusium, with the country lying on that branch of the Nile.” Then he fixed a day betwixt and which he expected to have their answer.

C H A P. XII. When this truce was elapsed, he sent his fleet from the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, whilst he marched his army through the deserts of Arabia into Egypt; and having either reduced all the country between the Nile and Memphis, with the rest of Egypt, by fear or voluntarily, he, by easy marches, proceeded to Alexandria. Having passed the river, the Roman ambassadors met him at Leusine, a town four miles from Alexandria. After the usual compliments, the king offered his hand to Popillius, who presented him with the decree of the senate, and bade him, “first of all read it.” Antiochus having done so, said, “He would advise with his council, and then give his answer.” But Popillius, with his usual ruggedness, drew a circle upon the sand round the Syrian with a vine-twig he had in his hand, saying, “Before you quit this circle, give me the answer I am to carry back to the senate.” The king, astonished at so imperious an order, after a short pause, humbly replied, “The senate shall be obeyed.” Then Popillius gave him his hand as a friend and ally of the commonwealth. Antiochus having quitted Egypt on a day fixed by the envoys, the ambassadors, having by their authority

confirmed the treaty between the two brothers, which had not yet been quite concluded, set out for Cyprus, where they dismissed Anticchus's fleet, which had already defeated the Egyptians in an action by sea. This embassy, which took Egypt from Antiochus, when already in possession of it, and reinstated Ptolemy in his father's kingdom, made a great noise in the world. As one of the consuls for this year had made himself conspicuous by a signal victory, so the other had acquired no glory, for want of opportunity to signalize himself. First of all, when he entered the temple to pay his vows, after having appointed the rendezvous of his troops, he had neglected the proper ceremonies, and the priests, when the affair came before them, declared that the day was ill appointed. He then marched into Gaul, where he incamped in the plain of Macri, near the mountains Sicimina and Papinus, and afterwards took up his winter-quarters near the same place with the allies of the Latin name. The Roman legions staid at Rome, because the day of rendezvous had not been duly appointed; and the prætors, except C. Papirius Carbo, who had Sardinia, set out for their respective provinces; the senate thought proper he should stay at Rome to judge causes between the citizens and strangers, the cognisance of which had also fallen to him by lot.

CHAP. XIII. Popillius, and the other ambassadors sent to Antiochus, returned to Rome, and reported that the war was terminated betwixt the kings of Egypt and Syria, and that the army of the latter had marched home. Then envoys arrived from these two nations. Antiochus's represented, "That the peace which the senate thought fit to order their master to make, was preferable in his opinion to all the victories he could have gained; and that he had obeyed the orders of the Roman ambassadors, as if they had been the commands of the gods themselves." They afterwards congratulated

lated the Romans upon the victory they had obtained over Perses, in which their master, if the senate had laid their commands on him, would have assisted with all his forces. The Egyptian ambassadors, in name of their master and Cleopatra, declared, "they believed themselves more indebted to the senate and people of Rome, than to their own parents, or to the immortal gods, having been delivered by them from the calamities of a siege, and reinstated upon the throne of their progenitors, from which they had been almost expelled." The senate replied, "That Antiochus had acted wisely, and as he ought to have done, in obeying the ambassadors, and that his conduct was extremely agreeable to the Roman senate and people. That they rejoiced exceedingly at the thoughts of the benefit and advantage it had derived to the Ptolemys and Cleopatra, and would endeavour to make them sensible that their crowns should always find sure protection from the Roman republic." The prætor C. Papirius was ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents. The letters which arrived from Macedonia, with an account that Perses was now in the hands of the consul, doubled their joy. After the Egyptian ambassadors had their audience of leave, there arose a dispute between the deputies of the Pisans and those of Luna. The Pisans complained, "That the inhabitants of the latter had expelled them out of part of their possessions;" while those of Luna asserted, "That the land in dispute was given them by the commissioners who settled them." The senate appointed five commissioners, Q. Fabius Buteo, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Sempronius Musca, L. Nævius Balbus, and C. Apuleius Saturninus, to survey and settle the boundaries between them. Deputies also arrived from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athænæus, to congratulate the Romans on their late victory. Masgaba, the son of Masinissa, having

landed at Puteoli, found there the quæstor L. Manlius, whom the senate, being informed of his coming, had sent to meet him, with money to defray his expense on the road to Rome. The senate gave him audience as soon as he arrived. The subject of this young prince's speech was very grateful, but rendered much more so by the graceful and polite manner in which he delivered it. After having mentioned the cavalry and infantry, elephants and corn, his father had supplied the Roman armies with, during the four years that the Macedonian war continued, he added, "two things, of which his father was a-shamed ; the one, that the senate should have desired, and not commanded, him to furnish the Romans with these aids ; and the other, that they had paid for the corn. For Masinissa was still sensible he was indebted to the Romans for his crown, and every augmentation of it, and would be content with the use of them, acknowledging the sovereign right and property of them to be vested in the Romans, who had given him them. Therefore it was just they should take, without asking or paying for, the product of a country which they had bestowed upon him. Whatever part the Romans should leave him, was and would be sufficient for him. That these were the instructions his father had given him at his setting out ; but after being informed of the defeat of Perseus, he had sent a courier after him with instructions to congratulate the senate upon their victory, and to protest that the news had given him so much joy, that he was desirous to come to Rome himself, and offer thanks and sacrifices to Jupiter, in his temple on the Capitol, for so great a blessing ; and desired the senate's permission to take that journey, if they should not think it troublesome."

CHAP. XIV. The senate answered the young prince, "Your father gives the highest proofs of his honesty and gratitude, and by his polite and agreeable

“ greeable manner enhances the value and honour
 “ of the favours he merits. If the Romans helped
 “ him to regain his kingdom, he deserved it for his
 “ steady and faithful services in the Punic war.
 “ With the same firm zeal and attachment he con-
 “ tinued his good offices in the wars against three
 “ kings successively. We are not therefore surprised
 “ he takes part in the last victory of the Romans,
 “ since he has trusted his fate with ours, and is re-
 “ solved to share good and bad fortune with us. He
 “ may thank his gods for the victory in his own pa-
 “ lace, and his son do it in his name at Rome. He
 “ has already paid the senate sufficient compliments
 “ of congratulations. And besides the fatigue and
 “ inconvenience of so long a voyage, it was not the
 “ interest of the Roman people that he should re-
 “ move so far from Africa.” Masgaba desired, that
 Hanno the son of Hamilcar should be given as a ho-
 stage, instead of another Hamilcar. But the senate
 replied, that it would be unjust in them to demand
 hostages of the Carthaginians at Mafinissa’s pleasure.
 They ordered the quæstor to lay out 100 pound
 weight of silver in jewels for him, and to convoy him
 as far as Puteoli, defraying all his expenses while in
 Italy, and to freight two ships to carry him and his
 retinue to Africa, and give robes to all his attendants.
 Some time after advice arrived, that Mifagenes, an-
 other son of Mafinissa, who had been sent home by
 Paullus with his cavalry after the victory, and whose
 fleet had been dispersed by a tempest in the Adriatic
 sea, had arrived at Brundisium with three ships, and
 was taken ill there. The senate sent L. Stertinius
 the quæstor to him with the same presents that had
 been given his brother, and orders to hire an house
 for him [and his retinue; to take proper care of his
 health and entertainment, and when recovered furnish
 him with ships to carry him to Africa.

CHAP. XV. About this time the plebeian tribunes
 prosecuted M. Milvius, P. Lollius, and L. Sextilius,

the

the officers appointed to prevent fires in the night, because they came not time enough to give the necessary orders for extinguishing a fire in the via Sacra. Then the comitia were held, and the fasces given to Q. Aelius Paetus and M. Junius Pennus. The new praetors were Q. Cassius Longinus, M. Juvenius Thalna, Ti. Claudius Nero, A. Manlius Torquatus, Cn. Fulvius Gillo, and C. Licinius Nerva. This same year the censors Ti. Gracchus and C. Claudius executed their office with an exact severity, though opposed by the tribunes. They had hitherto kept up a perfectly good understanding between themselves, but fell into variance in relation to the freedmen. To prevent them by their intrigues from gaining the ascendant at elections in the tribes among which they were dispersed, Gracchus insisted on having them reduced into one tribe. In this Claudius opposed him, declaring against any innovation of the kind, but strictly adhering to the institutions of Servius Tullius the king, and those of the censors C. Flaminius and L. Aemilius, by which] the freedmen were dispersed in the four city-tribes, except those who had a son above five years of age, by act of senate. Them they ordered to be registered, where they had been inrolled by the preceding censors, and granted the privilege of being members of tribes to all who had an estate, or estates in the country, upwards of 30,000 sesterces * a-year. As this was the ancient regulation, Claudius insisted, " That, without " an ordinance of the people, no censor had a power " to deprive a single citizen, much less a whole or- " der, of the right of suffrage. For though he could " remove him from his tribe, which was nothing " else than ordering him to exchange one tribe for " another, yet this did not extend to a power of to- " tally expelling him the thirty-five tribes, i. e. de- " priving him of his freedom and right of citizen- " ship, excluding him from being a member of any

* 240 l. 3. s. 9 d.

" tribe,

" tribe, without the liberty of being inrolled." Such was the dispute betwixt them. However, they at last agreed, that the four city-tribes should cast lots in the temple of Liberty, into which of them the freedmen should be incorporated. The lot fell to the Esquiline, upon which Gracchus declared, that it was his pleasure that all the freedmen should be inrolled in it. This gained the censors great honour with the senate, and they thanked Gracchus for his steady perseverance in his design, and Claudius for not opposing it. A greater number of senators and knights were degraded than in former times. Besides, the censors were unanimous in removing them from their tribes to the rank of ærarii, without the one taking off the mark of infamy imposed by the other. When they petitioned to be continued fourteen months longer in office, in order to raise the taxes for the public repairs, and to finish the works begun, Tremellius, a plebeian tribune, opposed them, because they had not chosen him a member of the senate. The same year C. Cicereius dedicated a temple on mount Alba, five years after he had vowed it, and L. Postumius Albinus was inaugurated priest of Mars.

CHAP. XVI. When Q. Ælius and M. Julius, the consuls, moved the senate to assign the provinces, the Fathers decreed, that Spain should be divided into two provinces, which had been but one during the Macedonian war, and that L. Paullus and L. Anicus should continue in Macedonia and Illyricum, till they settled the commotions raised during the war, and new modelled these kingdoms, agreeable to the sentiments of the commissioners sent thither for the purpose. Pisa and Gaul, with two legions of foot and 400 horse, was allotted to the consuls. As for the prætors, the judging causes between citizens fell to Q. Caius, and that between foreigners and citizens to Juvencius; Sicily, to Nero; hither Spain, to Fulvius; and farther, to Nerva; Sardinia fell to Torquatus, but being detained by a decree.

decree of the senate, to take cognisance of some capital crimes, he could not go for his province. Then the senate was consulted concerning the prodigies that had happened, viz. that the temple of the Dii Penates, in the quarter called Velia, had been struck with lightning ; in Minervium* two gates and a wall had met with the same fate ; at Annagnia it had rained stones ; at Lanuvium a shining meteor had been seen in the air ; M. Valerius, a Roman citizen at Calatia, had told that a stream of blood had issued from his fire for three days and two nights running. The decemvirs being ordered to consult their books, appointed public prayers, and sacrificed fifty goats in the forum. Public supplications for a day were also decreed in all the temples, the greater sacrifices killed, and the city purified on account of other prodigies. When the senate had settled the affairs of religion, they next decreed, that since their enemies Perseus and Gentius were vanquished, and Macedonia and Illyricum subjected, the prætors Q. Caecilius and M. Juvencius should offer as great presents in all the temples, as Appius Claudius and M. Sempronius, the consuls, had done after the victory gained over Antiochus.

CHAP. XVII. Then they appointed the commissioners by whose advice the generals, L. Paullus and L. Anicius, were to regulate affairs ; ten for Macedonia, and five for Illyricum. Those for Macedonia were A. Postumius Luscus, and C. Claudius, who had both been censors, C. Licinius Crassus, Paullus's colleague in the consulate, and who had his commission renewed for the province of Gaul : to these of consular dignity they added, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Ser. Cornelius Sulla, L. Junius, C. Antistius Labeo, T. Numisius Tarquiniensis, and A. Terentius Varro. Those for Illyricum were, P. Ælius Ligus, lately consul, C. Cicereius, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus (the latter had been prætor the

* Now Castro, in Calabria.

preceding year, and the former many years before), P. Terentius Tufciveicanus, and P. Manilius. The senators advised the consuls, that since it was necessary one of them should succeed C. Licinius, who was pitched on to be of the commissioners, in the province of Gaul, that they should either agree between themselves, or draw lots for the provinces as soon as possible. Accordingly Pisa fell to M. Junius, who, before he set out, introduced to the senate all the ambassadors who came to congratulate the Romans on their victory. Gaul happened to Q. Aelius. The persons chosen commissioners for Macedonia were such, that, from their prudent management, it might be hoped, that the generals would have done nothing unbecoming the clemency and gravity of the Roman people, yet the affair was maturely discussed by the senate, that the commissioners might carry the plan complete to the generals.

CHAP. XVIII. Previous to all other things it was decreed, " That the Macedonians and Illyrians should be free, to convince all nations, that the end of the Roman arms was not to enslave free people, but the contrary ; so that some might always retain their liberty under the protection of the Roman name ; and others, under the government of kings, might be treated with greater moderation and equity out of consideration for the Romans : or that, if war should ever arise between such kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the event would be victory to the Romans, and liberty to them. The senate suppressed the duties upon the mines, and revenues of certain countries, because those taxes could not be levied without tax-farmers, and where-ever those were, the public was either cheated or the allies oppressed. The Macedonians themselves might have been impowered to levy them : but it was judged, that the handling of the public money, always enriching those who had it, it
" would

" would be an occasion of envy and discord between them, and continual matter of sedition. They decreed, that there should be no general council of the whole nation in Macedonia, lest the insalient multitude should make the liberty the fenny gave them, degenerate into a pernicious licentiousness, which liberty could not be salutary, but whilst used with moderation. Macedonia should therefore be divided into four regions, of which each should have its particular council, and should pay half the taxes, usually paid the kings, to the Romans." The instructions were the same with respect to Illyricum. The deputies and generals were to manage as they thought proper in other cases, which might be suggested to them on the spot.

CHAP. XIX. Amongst the different ambassadors of kings and states which came to Rome, Attalus, brother of Eumenes, attracted the attention and regard of the Romans more than all the rest. He was received at Rome with as great marks of distinction, by those who had served in the same war with him, as if Eumenes had come in person. He had two plausible pretexts for undertaking this journey : first, to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, and then to complain of the incursions of the Gauls, " for Advertas, one of their petty kings, exceedingly harassed their kingdom." Besides, he had conceived some secret hopes of receiving from the senate rewards and honours, which he could not obtain consistently with the affection he owed his brother. Some of the Romans, by false suggestions, soothed his hopes, and increased his ambition. They intimated to him, " That the Romans formed very different judgments of him and his brother. For he was looked upon as the true friend of the Romans, but Eumenes as neither faithful to them nor to Perses. He was sure of obtaining whatever he should demand for himself, and what he should

“ should ask against his brother, the senate being
“ unanimously disposed to grant him, and deny his
“ brother, whatever he should ask.” Now, Attalus
(as it proved) was one of those who are ambitious of
obtaining all their hopes flatter them with ; and had
done so at this time, had not he been restrained by
the wise counsels of a friend, who, as it were, put
a bridle upon his ambition. He had with him a
physician called Statius, whom Eumenes on suspicion
had caused to attend him to Rome, as a spy on all
his actions, and faithfully to admonish him in case
he should observe him depart from his duty. Though
Attalus’s ears were already prepossessed, and his mind
under strong temptations ; yet Statius took advantage
of some favourable moments, and brought him back
from the brink of ruin, by remonstrating, “ That
“ though other kingdoms acquired their greatness
“ by different means, yet theirs, but new of itself,
“ and established on no ancient foundation, had on-
“ ly subsisted by the union of the brothers, only one
“ of whom bore the title of king, and wore the dia-
“ dem, while they all reigned in reality. And
“ who did not reckon Attalus king, as he was the
“ next in age to Eumenes ? and that not only on
“ account of his great power at present, but be-
“ cause, considering the great age and infirmities of
“ his brother, the time of his succeeding could not
“ be remote, especially as Eumenes had no legiti-
“ mate children, (for he had not yet acknowledged
“ the son who succeeded him). Why should he
“ anticipate by force what would soon happen in a
“ natural course ? Besides, the insurrection of the
“ Gallo-Greeks had occasioned new troubles in their
“ kingdom, which could scarce be quelled by the
“ union and concord of all their family. But if to a
“ foreign war they should add intestine seditions, not
“ all their power could prevent their ruin. Besides,
“ what else would be the issue of his present enter-
prise, but frustrating his own near hopes of suc-
“ ceeding,

“ ceeding, in case his brother should die in possession of the crown. Though it was a glorious thing to be able, both to preserve the crown to his brother, and to take it from him, certainly the most honourable of the two was the former, as closely connected with fraternal affection. But since the contrary conduct was detestable, and next to parricide, what room was there for hesitation? Did he intend to divide the kingdom with his brother, or deprive him of it entirely? If he only aimed at a part of it, both would be weakened by such partition, and exposed to the insults of their neighbours: if at the whole, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person? or would he banish him at his years, and with his infirmities, or put him to death? That, not to mention the tragical end of fraternal discords related in story; he begged him to consider the recent example of Perseus, who having shed his brother's blood to secure a crown, had lately, prostrate on the ground, laid the same crown at the feet of a conqueror in the temple of Samothrace, in presence, as it were, of the gods, who pursue such criminals with unrelenting vengeance. That the very persons who had flattered the ambition of Attalus, more out of hatred to Eumenes than amity for him, would praise his fraternal affection and greatness of soul, if he persisted in his fidelity to his brother to the last.”

CHAP. XX. This advice prevailed upon Attalus, who, when he had his audience, congratulated the Romans on their victory, laid before them his own exploits and those of his brother, with the revolt of the Gallo-Greeks, who had lately taken up arms in a numerous body. Then he desired they would send an embassy to make them lay down their arms. Having delivered these instructions relating to the kingdom, he concluded with asking for himself, in particular,

ticular, the investiture of Ænos and Maronea. Thus the hopes of those who thought he would petition for his brother's kingdom, and complain of his conduct, were baffled, and Attalus withdrew. Hardly any king or private person was heard with more attention and regard, or was more highly honoured when present, and had larger presents given him at his departure. Amongst all the embassies from Asia and Greece, that of Rhodes was most remarkable. Its deputies first appeared in white, the usual dress of those who came with compliments of congratulation; and indeed had they been dressed in mourning, they would have been thought to have been lamenting Perse's misfortunes. When M. Junius the consul asked the Fathers, "whether they would give "the envoys, who stood waiting in the comitium, "the common entertainment, presents, and audience;" they answered, "that no rights of hospitality were to be observed towards them." The consul immediately quitted the house, and the ambassadors representing to him, "that they were "come to congratulate them on their victory, and "clear their state of the crimes they were accused "of;" he told them, "the Romans always used "to entertain their allies and friends courteously, "and give them an audience; but the Rhodians "had not behaved so in the war, as to be reckoned "in that number." Upon this they fell prostrate at his feet, begging of him and others then present, "not to be so relentless as to suffer the new "and false crimes objected to them to injure them "more than their past services, of which they had "been eye-witnesses, had derived benefit to them." So they instantly dressed themselves in mourning, and went round the chief men with tears in their eyes, conjuring them to give them an audience before they condemned them.

CHAP. XXI. M. Juvencius Thalna, the praetor, who had the cognisance of causes between citi-

zens and foreigners, instigated the people against the Rhodians, and moved them “to declare war a-“ gainst them, and to chuse such of their present “ magistrates as they thought fit to go with the “ fleet upon that expedition.” He expected to be nominated himself. M. Antonius and M. Pomponius, plebeian tribunes, opposed this bill. The prætor had of his own accord made this wicked at-tempt, without any precedent, and without consulting the Fathers, or acquainting the consuls, to know “ whether they would order war to be declared a-“ gainst the Rhodians or not.” Whereas it had formerly been the custom, first to consult the senate, and then the people, in all cases of declaring war: it was also a rule with the plebeian tribunes, when such bills were brought before the assembly, not to oppose them, till they had allowed any private per-sons who pleased to speak in favour of, or against it. By this means it frequently happened that some of their college, who had not declared they would op-pose them, yet had done so, when the arguments of the orators had discovered to them the defects of the bill; and they also, who had appeared against such motions, overcome by the weight of the arguments on the other side, had dropped their opposition. But, at present, the prætor and tribune strove who should act most irregularly. The tribune, by his opposition, would have had the prætor postpone the matter, till the arrival of Æmilius: [but Thalna, insisting that it was not capable of delay, urged a present declaration, and was proceeding in his harangue on that subject, when Antony pulled him down from the rostra, and fixed a day for the Rhodians to be heard in an assembly of the people. After the Rhodians first embassy by Agesipolis was re-ported at home, they had sent other two, at the head of the first of which was Philocrates, and of the other Astymedes, with whom Philophron had been joined in commission. The people referred them

them to the senate, into which being introduced by the consul Junius, Astymedes spoke as follows.

CHAP. XXII. "Conscript Fathers, by vouchsafing to compare our former splendid appearance in this city, with the meanness of our present, you may easily form an idea of our wretched and deplorable condition. Yet still if we dare speak the truth, our present disgrace with you is more the effect of false informations and calumnies, than of any real guilt on our side: as we will affirm, that, however individuals in a private station may have offended you, our state has committed no offence. And indeed we are astonished to see, that Rhodes, which with inviolate fidelity hath so long maintained an alliance with Rome, an alliance confirmed no less by your favours and benefits towards us, than by our services and steady submission to your republic, should now be changed with a shameful and ingrate violation of that very alliance.] Though it is yet a question whether we be guilty, yet we suffer all kinds of ignominy and punishment. In former times, when we came hither to congratulate you, after the defeat of the Carthaginians, Antiochus, and Philip, we were brought from lodgings assigned us at your expence, to pay our compliments in the senate, from whence we went to offer presents to your tutelary gods in the Capitol. But now, like enemies, we are ordered to stay in the suburbs, in a poor miserable lodging, which we could scarce hire for money. In this mean condition, we Rhodians, on whom you lately bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria, besides other valuable presents and rewards, are now admitted to an audience. As we hear, you have granted the Macedonians and Illyrians, who were slaves before they engaged in the war against you, their liberty. We envy no persons good fortune, but rather acknowledge the clemency of

“ the Roman people ; but will you of allies make
“ open enemies of us, who only observed an exact
“ neutrality in the war ? No, certainly ! for you
“ are Romans, who pretend, that all your wars are
“ successful, because founded in justice ; and you
“ do not pride yourselves so much in their ending
“ in victory, as in your having undertaken them on
“ reasonable grounds. The siege of Messina, in
“ Sicily, made you enemies to the Carthaginians ;
“ as attacking Athens, attempting to enslave
“ Greece, and aiding Hannibal with troops and
“ money, made you to Philip. Antiochus, upon
“ an invitation from the Ætolians, with a fleet
“ came from Asia, invaded Greece, seized Deme-
“ trias, Chalcis, and the defiles of Thermopylæ,
“ and attempted to wrest your empire from you :
“ this drew your arms upon him. The grounds of
“ your war with Perse were, because he attacked
“ your allies, and assassinated the petty princes and
“ chief men of several nations and states. But if
“ we are to perish by your hands, pray what cause
“ can be assigned for our meeting such fate ? We
“ do not as yet make the case of our state, and
“ that of Polyaratus and Dion, with others whom
“ we have brought hither to deliver up to you,
“ distinct causes. For though we all had been e-
“ qually guilty, what had been our crime in the
“ war ? We have declared for Perse, you will say ;
“ and as in the war with Philip and Antiochus we
“ joined you against those two kings, so now have
“ we aided Perse against you. Well ! pray ask
“ C. Livius and Q. Æmilius Regillus, who com-
“ manded your fleets in Asia, how ready we were
“ to assist your allies, and take part in the war.
“ Your ships never fought without ours. Nay, we
“ singly engaged Hannibal with our fleet once at
“ Samos, and another time at Pamphilia : and what
“ still renders that victory more glorious to us, was,
“ that though we lost a great number of ships, and
“ the

“ the flower of our youth, in the unfortunate action
“ at Samos, not undaunted with these losses, we
“ intrepidly attacked the king’s fleet returning from
“ Syria. I do not mention these things out of vain
“ glory (for our present calamitous circumstances
“ will not suffer us to boast); but only to put you
“ in mind how forward the Rhodians have always
“ been in aiding their allies.

CHAP. XXIII. “ After the defeat of Philip and
“ Antiochus, we were generously rewarded by you.
“ What if Perse had had the same success which
“ you, by the favour of the gods, and your own va-
“ lour, have had, and we had gone to Macedonia
“ to demand rewards of the victor, what pretext
“ could we have urged? Did we aid him with land-
“ forces or ships; with money or provisions? What
“ garrison did we keep? Where did we fight, either
“ under his officers, or by ourselves? If he should
“ have asked, where were our troops and fleet
“ in conjunction with his, what answer could we
“ have made? No doubt, but we would have urged
“ the same arguments before the victor as we do
“ now before you. For all we have got by send-
“ ing ambassadors to both to mediate peace, is the
“ ill-will of both; yea, are used as criminals, and
“ in danger of ruin from you: nay, even though
“ Perse with justice might have objected what you,
“ Conscrip Fathers, cannot, that at the commence-
“ ment of the war we sent an embassy promising to
“ furnish you with necessaries for the war, and to
“ have our fleet and youth ready, as formerly on
“ like occasions. Our not performing these promi-
“ ses was owing to you, who, for what reason we
“ know not, despised our assistance. But, after all,
“ we did not act as enemies, and would not have
“ neglected the duty of good allies, if you had not
“ forbid us to move. What then, you will say,
“ Rhodians, was nothing either done or said in your
“ city which now you wish unsaid, and that might
“ merit

“ merit the resentment of the Roman people? Here
“ we will not pretend to apologise for all that was
“ done. We are not so mad. But give us leave
“ to distinguish between the case of the public, and
“ that of individuals. There is no state but is
“ sometimes molested with incendiaries, and always
“ with a fickle ignorant populace. We have even
“ heard, that some factious men among you, by ca-
“ joling the multitude, have grasped at sovereignty,
“ and that formerly your commons made a secession,
“ so that you had not then any power in your re-
“ public. If this has fallen out in so well governed
“ a state, need any one be surprised, that some de-
“ signing men among us, courting the king’s friend-
“ ship, have seduced our people by their wicked
“ counsels? And after all they prevailed no farther,
“ than to make us stand neuter. For I will not
“ even omit the greatest crime our state was guilty
“ of in this war: we at the same time sent ambassa-
“ dors to Perses and you, to mediate a peace. This
“ unfortunate step, our hair-brained envoy (as we
“ have heard since) rendered quite ridiculous; for
“ it is certain he spoke in as imperious a strain as if
“ he had been your ambassador Popillius, whom you
“ sent to terminate the war between Antiochus and
“ Ptolemy. Whether this may be styled folly or
“ pride, yet it was used to Perses as well as to you.
“ States have their particular manners and disposi-
“ tions as well as private persons. Some are pas-
“ sionate, some daring, some dastardly, and others
“ much addicted to wine and Venus. The Athe-
“ nians are said to be very active and daring even
“ beyond their abilities: the Lacedæmonians are
“ slow, and with difficulty enter upon enterprises e-
“ ven where they are sure to succeed. I cannot de-
“ ny but Asia in general produces a more volatile
“ empty people, and that our nation talks in too im-
“ perious a strain, because we excel all our neigh-

“ bouring

“ bousing states, and that not so much on account
“ of our own strength, as of the honours you con-
“ fered on us, and your opinion of our merit. But
“ that embassy, even at that time, was sufficiently
“ punished by the unfavourable answer returned to
“ it. If we at that time did not meet sufficient mor-
“ tification, yet sure our present miserable and sup-
“ pliant deputation may sufficiently atone for even a
“ more insolent one than the former. Passionate
“ men resent haughtiness, especially in words ; but
“ wise men only laugh at it, and more so, when
“ from an inferior to a superior ; but none ever
“ judged it deserving of capital punishment. For in
“ truth, the only danger in the case was, lest the
“ Rhodians should have contemned the Romans.
“ Some have been so daring as to reproach and in-
“ sult the very gods, but we never heard of their
“ being struck with thunder for it.

CHAP. XXIV. “ What then remains of our
“ conduct to be cleared, since we have been guilty
“ of no hostilities, and the insolent vain speech of
“ our ambassadors has only deserved some severe re-
“ primands, but not the utter destruction of our ci-
“ ty ? I hear, Conscribt Fathers, that it is urged
“ in your private conversations as sufficient ground
“ of quarel with us, that we inclined to favour Per-
“ fess, and wished him success in the war : for this
“ some think we ought to be prosecuted with war :
“ that others of you were of opinion, though we
“ were guilty in this respect, yet that was not a
“ sufficient cause of coming to an open rupture with
“ us ; for it has never been found, by the laws or
“ customs of any state, that, though the death of an
“ enemy has been desired, he should be instantly
“ condemned to suffer, without having done any
“ thing to deserve it. We heartily thank those who
“ free us from the penalty, though not from the
“ crime. But we are content to join issue on this
“ condition, that we all be equally involved in the
“ punishment,

“ punishment, if we all consented to the crimes we
“ are accused of ; not making any distinction be-
“ tween the intention and the fact. If some of our
“ chief citizens have been attached to your interest,
“ and others to that of Perses ; we do not desire
“ them to be spared for our sakes who favoured you,
“ but conjure you not to sacrifice us to your resent-
“ ment on their account. The state of which they
“ are members is as much offended at their conduct
“ as you, and many of them have either fled or laid
“ violent hands on themselves, and others, Vene-
“ rable Fathers, who are already condemned, shall
“ be delivered up to you : but as for the rest of the
“ Rhodians, though they have merited nothing in
“ this war, yet sure they deserve no punishment.
“ Let the accumulated services of our ancestors
“ atone for our deficiencies in point of duty. You
“ have been at war with three kings now for some
“ years ; and let not our neutrality in this one hurt
“ us more, than our engaging in the two former
“ derived advantage to us. Let Philip, Antiochus,
“ and Perses, be considered as three votes in our fa-
“ vour ; the two first will certainly be for us, and
“ the third, in the severest sense, will appear doubt-
“ ful. If they themselves should judge us, we should
“ be condemned. But do ye, Conscribt Fathers,
“ determine, whether our city shall subsist any long-
“ er, or be quite razed. You may, if you please,
“ declare war against us ; but you cannot make it :
“ for not a single Rhodian will take arms to defend
“ himself against you. If you retain your resent-
“ ment, we shall only ask time to go to Rhodes, and
“ report our unfortunate embassy ; and that instant
“ all the men, women, and free persons of our state
“ will imbark with all our effects : abandoning the
“ gods of our country, and our household gods, we
“ shall come to Rome, and after having thrown all
“ our gold and silver at your feet, we will all deliver
“ up our own persons, wives, and children, to your
“ discretion.

" discretion. We will suffer the severest fate here
 " before your eyes. If Rhodes is destined to be
 " plundered and burnt, at least we shall by this spare
 " ourselves the mortifying sight. You may by your
 " sentence declare us enemies, but there is a secret
 " sense within our breasts, that will pass one quite
 " different; and whatever hostilities you may exer-
 " cise against us, we shall never repay them in kind,
 " if we should perish."

CHAP. XXV. After this speech all the deputies prostrated themselves upon the ground, and extending olive branches in their hands, desired peace, like suppliants; but were at length raised and withdrew. Then the senators proceeded to give their opinions. All who had served in Macedonia, in quality of consuls, praetors, or lieutenant-generals, declared bitterly against them. M. Porcius Cato, a senator, remarkable for the severity of his character, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians. I shall not here insert the speech which this copious orator made at that time, because it is extant in the fifth book of a work of his, intitled, *DE ORIGINIBUS*. The answer given them was such as did not declare them enemies, or at the same time continued them as allies. Philocrates and Astymedes were the heads of this embassy. The former with some of the other deputies returned to Rhodes, to inform them of the result of their embassy; but the rest continued at Rome with Astymedes, to observe the motions of the senate, and send an account of them to Rhodes. In the mean time they were ordered, against a fixed day, to withdraw their governors from Lycia and Caria. This news, though really sad, occasioned some joy at Rhodes, since it delivered them from all apprehensions of a war, which they dreaded most. Whereupon they immediately decreed, that a crown worth twenty thousand pieces of gold * should be sent to Rome, and that Theodosius the admiral of their

* A piece of gold was worth 4 l. 9 d.

fleet should be charged with that business. But they agreed, “to beg an alliance of the Romans in such a manner as that there sh.uld be no decree of the commons relating to it, or that it should be put in writing; for by that means, if they met with a repulse, they w.uld avoid a great affront.” In consequence, the only instruction they gave the admiral was, if possible, to solicit it without a public application to the senate. For they had continued many years in friendship with the Romans, without binding themselves by any formal treaty; and that for no other reason but to cut off from the king all hopes of their alliance, or from themselves of reaping the fruits of their munificence and bounty. However, they ought at this time to have asked this alliance, in earnest, not to screen themselves from the insolence of any foreign powers, for they dreaded none but the Romans, but to render themselves less suspected by them. About the same time the people of Caunus * revolted from them, and the Mylaffians † seized the towns of the Euromenses ‡. The Rhodians were not so much dispirited, as not to consider, “That if the Romans took Lycia and Caria from them, the rest of the towns dependent on them would either shake off their yoke by revolting, or be seized by their neighbours; and that then they themselves would be shut up in a small island upon the coast of a barren country, which could not support such a numerous body of people.” Upon this (although they had sent for the aid of the Cibyrateæ) they immediately dispatched their army to Caunus, and obliged it to submit. They also defeated, in a pitched battle near Orthosia, the Mylaffenses and Alabandians, who, after possessing themselves of

* A maritime city of Caria, in Asia Minor, about twenty miles from Rhodes, and near the mouth of the Calbis. It is now called *La Ressa*.

† inhabiting the present Melasfo in the same province.

‡ Near the former,

the country of the Euromenses, had met them with their united force.

CHAP. XXVI. During these transactions at Rhodes, others of importance happened both in Macedonia and at Rome. For in the mean time L. Anicius, having conquered Gentius in Illyricum, as we have already observed, had made Gabinius governor of Scodra, where the king's palace was, and C. Licinius of Rhizon and Oleinium, two cities very commodiously situated. Having left them to command in Illyricum, he set out for Epirus with the rest of the army. Then Phanota immediately surrendered to him, the whole populace coming out to meet him with woollen fillets on their heads. After placing a garrison in it, he proceeded to Molossis, all whose cities surrendered themselves, except Passaron, Temon, Phylax, and Horreum. He led his army first against Passaron. Antinous and Theodotus were heads of that city, men noted for their attachment to Perses and hatred to the Romans, and who had been the authors of the whole nation's revolting from them. Accordingly, conscious of their own guilt; and expecting no pardon, they shut the gates, that they might fall in the public ruin of their country, exhorting their countrymen to prefer death to slavery. So great was their authority, that none dared to open a mouth against them. But at length one Theodotus, a young nobleman, being more afraid of the Romans than these two commanders, asked the people, “ what madness possessed them, to make the “ whole city necessary to the crimes of two men ? I “ have,” said he, “ heard of persons sacrificing their “ lives for their country ; but these men are the first “ I ever heard of, who thought it reasonable that “ their country should perish with them. Let us “ then open the gates, and submit ourselves to the “ command of those who are sovereigns of the “ world.” Upon this the people followed him, and Antinous and Theodotus rushing upon the enemy’s

advanced guard, exposed themselves to their swords, and were cut to pieces. Then the town surrendered to the Romans. Cephalus governor of Tecmon, from a like obstinacy, had shut its gates; but the town was surrendered, and he killed. Neither did Phylax nor Horreum stand out. Having thus quieted Epirus, and distributed his troops into winter-quarters through the adjacent cities, he returned to Illyricum. He summoned an assembly of the chief men to meet at Scodra, where five commissioners from Rome were arrived. There he publicly declared, with advice of the council, " That the senate and " people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians; " and that they should withdraw their garrisons " from all the towns, fortresses, and castles in their " country; and that the Isaeans and Taulantians, " with the Dassaretian Pirustans, Rhizonites, and " Olciniates, who, during Gentius's prosperity, " had come over to the Romans, should not only be " free, but exempted from all taxes. Also the Dareses, because they abandoned Caravantius, and " joined the Romans. The Scodrians, Dassarans, " Selepitani, and the other Illyrians, should pay the " Romans only half of what they used to pay to their " king." Then he divided Illyricum into three independent parts: one part comprehended that which was formerly called by that name; the second, the the country of the Labeates; and the third, the country of the Agrauonitæ, Rhizonites, the Olciniates, and their neighbours. Illyricum being thus settled, he returned to winter at Passaron in Epirus.

CHAP. XXVII. During these transactions in Illyricum, and before the arrival of the ten commissioners, Paullus detached his son Q. Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to ravage Æginium and Agassa. His reason for attacking the Agassæ was, that after they had surrendered their city to the consul Marcius, and of their own accord solicited an alliance with Rome, they had revolted

to Perses. The people of Æginium had lately been guilty of some new crime : for, not crediting the report of the Romans victory, they had exercised great cruelty on some soldiers who had entered the town. He likewise sent L. Postumius to destroy the city of the Ænii, because they obstinately continued in arms after the adjacent states had laid down theirs. The autumn now approached, at the beginning of which he was resolved to take a tour of pleasure through Greece, to visit the curiosities of the country, which were better known by report than eyesight ; he gave the command of the camp to C. Sulpicius Galba, and crossed Thessaly with a small retinue, attended by his son Scipio, and Athenæus the brother of king Eumenes, and arrived at Delphi, where was the famous oracle of Apollo. After having sacrificed to that god, the victor ordered the pillars they had begun in the porch of the temple, and on which they were to place the statue of king Perses, to be kept for his own. He likewise visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia. From thence, after seeing the mouth of the cave, through which the priests went down to consult the gods, and having sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercynna, who have a temple in that place, he went to Chalcis, to view the strait of Euripus, and that island, which, a century before, had a communication with the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis he passed to Aulis, an harbour about three miles distant, noted for Agamemnon's fleet, of a thousand ships, riding there. He then visited the temple of Diana, where that king of kings * purchased a fair wind to carry his fleet to Troy, by offering to sacrifice his daughter †. He then came to Oropus in Attica, where the poet Amphilochus is worshipped as a god, and where the temple is very ancient, and as many pleasant springs and rivulets about it. He next visited

* So called from commanding the other princes of Greece.

† Iphigenia.

Athens, formerly noted for its curiosities, and still having many rarities to be seen, such as the citadel, the harbours, the walls that join the Piræus to the city, the arsenals made by many great generals, and the statues of gods and men, of the most exquisite materials and workmanship.

CHAP. XXVIII. When he had sacrificed to Minerva, the patroness of the citadel in that city, he set out from thence, and in two days arrived at Corinth. As it was before its destruction, it was then beautiful, and the citadel and isthmus made a fine appearance. The citadel, though it stood on a mountain of immense height, abounded with springs. The isthmus parted the east and west seas. He then visited the famous cities of Sicyon and Argos, next Epidaurus, not equal to them in wealth, though famous for the temple of Æsculapius, which being about five miles distant from the city, was then greatly enriched with the presents the sick had offered to that god on account of their recovery, though we now see only the traces of these donations. He then set out for Lacedæmon, nowise remarkable for its magnificent structure, but for the exact discipline and regular government of its inhabitants. From thence he went through Megalopolis to Olympia, where, among other rarities, he was exceedingly struck with the statue of Jupiter, the sculpture of which was so exquisite, that the stone seemed to be animated *. Therefore, as if he had been to sacrifice in the Capitol, he ordered greater preparations than ordinary for it. Thus he made the tour of Greece. However, he made no inquiries anywhere concerning the dispositions of individuals or states during the war, that he might not alarm their fears. On his return to Demetrias, he was met by a crowd of Ætolians in mourning. Being surprised, and asking what the matter was, they complained to him, "Lydiscus and Tisippus,

* It was the work of Phidias. See Strab. and Pausan.

" with

" with a body of troops lent them by their gover-
 " nor Bæbius, had surrounded their senate, and
 " massacred 550 principal men of their nation, ba-
 " nished others, and given the estates both of the
 " murdered and exiled to their accusers." He or-
 dered them to meet him at Amphipolis, and went
 himself to meet Octavius at Demetrias. As soon as
 he received advice that the ten commissioners were
 arrived, he laid aside all other business, and repair-
 ed to them at Apollonia. Perse, who was too
 negligently guarded, met him at Amphipolis, which
 was about a day's journey from thence. He receiv-
 ed him with great kindness and civility; but when
 he came to the camp near Amphipolis, it is said he
 severely reprimanded C. Sulpicius, " first, because
 " he allowed Perse to ramble through the province
 " at so great a distance from him; and next, for
 " indulging his soldiers so far, as to suffer them to
 " pull the tiles off the houses to cover their own ba-
 " racks. Then he ordered them to carry back the
 " tiles, and put the roofs in as good condition as
 " they were before." Perse, with his eldest son
 Philip, were delivered to the care of A. Postumius.
 Then he sent for his daughter and youngest son
 from Samothrace to Amphipolis, where he treated
 them very courteously.

CHAP. XXIX. On the day he had appointed for
 ten principal men from each city in the kingdom to
 be present at Amphipolis, with all the public regis-
 ters and king's treasure, he ascended the tribunal
 with the ten commissioners, being surrounded by all
 the multitude of Macedonia. This new court made
 a terrible appearance to them, though they were
 only accustomed to regal government: for there
 was a lictor, crier, and tipstaff, all whom they had
 never before seen nor heard of, and which would
 have struck terror into allies, and much more into
 conquered enemies. Having caused the crier to pro-
 claim silence, he pronounced in Latin what had
been

been determined by the senate and the commissioners present. Then the prætor Cn. Octavius (who was personally present also) explained the whole in Greek. It was as follows. " First of all they ordered the Macedonians to be free, enjoy their cities, lands, by-laws, and chuse annual magistrates. They shold pay only half the tribute they formerly paid their kings. Macedonia should be divided into four cantons, the first comprehending the country lying between the Strymon and Nessus, to which should be added the districts possessed by Perses, beyond the Nessus eastward, with the villages, fortresses, and strong towns, except Ænus, Maronea, Abdera, and beyond the Strymon westward, all Bisaltica, and Heraclæa called Sintice. That the second should contain all the eastern part of the country, watered by the Strymon, except Sintice, Heraclea, and Bisaltica, and all the western part bounded by the river Axius, taking in the Pæonians who inhabit the east country on that river. The third should reach from the Axius eastward, to the Peñus westward, and mount Orbelos on the north: Pæonia, which extended from the west beyond the river Axius, Edessa, and Berœa, were likewise added to it. The fourth should be the country beyond mount Orbelos, one side bordering on Illyricum, and the other on Epirus. Amphipolis should be the capital of the first, Thessalonica, of the second, Pella, of the third, and Pelagonia, of the fourth. In these it was the diets should be held, the tribute paid, and magistrates elected." It was likewise declared, " That none should be suffered to marry, or purchase houses or lands out of his own canton. That they should not be allowed to work in gold and silver mines, but they might in those of bras and iron; the miners to pay only half the taxes they had paid their kings. They should not use any imported

" imported salt. When the Dardans demanded
 " back Pæonia, because it properly belonged to
 " them, and bordered on their territory, all that
 " had been subject to Perses were declared free ; and
 " after they could not obtain Pæonia, they were
 " allowed to carry on a salt trade with the Macedo-
 " nians, ordering the third canton to carry it to
 " Stobi of Pæonia ; he also fixed the price of it.
 " They were likewise prohibited from cutting down
 " timber for building ships, or allowing others to
 " do so. The cantons, bordering upon the barba-
 " rians, except the third, keep armed garrisons up-
 " on their frontiers."

CHAP. XXX. These regulations made different impressions upon them the first day of the diet. They were charmed with the unexpected grant of their liberty, and the lessening their tribute ; but the prohibition of all commerce between the different cantons, made them appear like an animal torn limb from limb, each of which needed the assistance of another. Nay the Macedonians themselves, were not aware how considerable their nation of itself was, how easy to be divided, and how contemptible each part became by the division. The first canton was possessed by the Bisaltæ, a brave and warlike people, living beyond the Nessus, and about the Strymon : it abounds with many kinds of fruits, and mines of different metals : besides it has Amphipolis, so conveniently situated, as to stop all entering Macedonia on the east. The second contained the two famous cities of Thessalonica and Cassandrea, besides Pallene, a fertile country, and its commodious situation for foreign trade by the harbours near Torone and mount Athos (called Æneas's port), some of which face the island of Eubœa, and others the Hellefpon. The third comprehended the famous cities of Edessa, Berœa, Pella, and the warlike people of the Vettii, with many Gauls and Illyrians, most industrious farmers. The Eordæans, Lynce-

æ,

ſtæ, and Pelagonians possessed the fourth. Atintania, Stymphalis, and Elimiotis were joined to it. This is a cold, uncultivated, and poor country, and the genius of the inhabitants resembles the climate: the neighbouring barbarians also make them more wild, sometimes exercising them in war, and at other times introducing new customs, by mingling with them in time of peace. Macedonia being thus divided into distinct cantons, serving different purposes, and, after having given them a general plan of government, he told them he would likewise give them a particular body of laws.

CHAP. XXXI. Then the Ætolians were cited, but the only inquiry was, Who had favoured Perses, and who the Romans? not, Who had done, or who had suffered wrong? The murderers were acquitted of injustice, the banishment of the exiles confirmed, and the death of the slain approved *; only Bæbius was condemned for having employed Roman soldiers in this massacre. This decision in the affair of the Ætolians inspired the Romanists in all the states and nations of Greece with an intolerable pride, and kept in servile fear and subjection to them, all who were in the least suspected to have favoured Perses. During the war the principal men in the states of Greece were divided into three parties, two of which either by abjectly flattering the Roman republic, or courting the alliance of Perses, promoted their own private interest, at the expense of that of their country: the third opposed both these factions, and vigorously endeavoured to preserve the laws and liberties of their country. The more these were beloved by their countrymen, the less they were esteemed by foreigners. The Romanists, flushed with the republic's success, got possession of all offices at home, and alone were employed in embassies abroad. The latter sort, from Peloponnesus, Boeotia, and other states of Greece, came in great numbers to the diet,

* See Sir Walter Raleigh's history.

and

and dinned the ears of the ten commissioners with informations, “ that these were not the only partisans of Perseus who openly boasted of his hospitality and friendship, but that he had a greater number of secret favourers : and that others, under pretence of preserving the laws and liberties of their country, had in their assemblies prejudiced their people against the Romans, and that there was no other means of keeping those nations in their duty, but by crushing the two opposite factions, and establishing their authority, who had nothing at heart but the interest of the Roman republic.” Having given in a list of their names, the Roman general, by his mandate, summoned them all from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Boeotia, and ordered them to follow him to Rome, there to be tried. Two of the commissioners, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius, went in person to Achaia, to summon that people. This they did on two considerations ; first, because they believed the Achæans, having more spirit than the rest, would not obey ; and for fear of endangering the lives of Callicrates and his associates in the accusations : secondly, because, though they had found, in Perseus’s cabinet, letters from the leading men in the other states, yet they had found none from the Achæans, to bring in evidence against them. The Ætolians being dismissed, the Acarnanians were next cited. But no alteration was made with regard to them, except only that Leucæ was dismembered from their body. After a fuller inquiry concerning the private and public favourers of Perseus, they extended it even to Asia, and sent Labeo to raze Antissa, in the island of Lesbos, and to transplant the inhabitants to Methymna *, because they had admitted Antenor, one of Perseus’s admirals, to take in provisions in their harbour, when his fleet was cruising about their island. Two of their leading men

* In the same island.

were beheaded, viz. Andronicus the Ætolian, son of one of the same name, because he had carried arms under his father against the Romans; and Neon, the Theban, for advising them to make an alliance with Perses.

CHAP. XXXII. Having in the mean time made these inquiries into the affairs of other nations, the diet of the Macedonians was again convened. In it Æmilius declared, " That it was necessary to chuse senators, called by the natives, Synedri, for governing Macedonia." Then a list of the names of the Macedonian nobility was called over, all whom with their children above fifteen years of age he ordered to go before him to Italy. This order at first view appeared cruel; but the commons of that kingdom soon perceived, it was given to secure their liberty. For in the list were the king's courtiers and friends, generals of armies, commanders of fleets and garrisons, who were accustomed to pay servile court to their prince, and insult their inferiors; some of them very rich, and others who equalled these in expense, though not in fortune; and all used to live and dress like kings, would be impatient of living in a republic, and of that equality, which was the effect of laws and liberty. All such therefore as were employed in any offices under the king, or even in the meanest embassies, were ordered to quit Macedonia, and go into Italy, under pain of death. He gave the Macedonians a body of laws for their government with so much care, that they seemed rather calculated for allies that had deserved well at their hands, than a conquered enemy; and so judiciously drawn up, that time and experience, the only correctors of laws, could find nothing to amend in them. After having ended this serious business, he celebrated at Amphipolis games which he had made great preparations for, and which he had notified to the kings and states of Asia by couriers; and in his tour of pleasure through the cities of Greece,

Greece, informed their leading men in person. There were the most celebrated actors of all sorts, wrestlers, and fine horses, convened from all parts of the world, as also ambassadors with victims, and whatever used at any other time to be offered at the solemn games of Greece. Every thing was performed in such a manner, that the spectators not only admired their magnificence, but even the general's skill in those games, to which the Romans were then entire strangers. Splendid entertainments were also provided for the ambassadors with equal plenty and care. And it was commonly reported, that he should have said, "He who knew how to conquer "in war, knew also how to make an entertainment, and exhibit games."

CHAP. XXXIII. Having performed games of all kinds, and imbarkeed all the brazen shields, he piled up the rest of the arms into a great heap, and after invoking Mars, Minerva, Luna, and other gods to whom it is lawful to dedicate the spoils of enemies, the general himself set fire to the pile with a torch; then each of the legionary tribunes, who surrounded it, threw fire upon it. It was observed, that in that numerous assembly convened from Europe and Asia, partly to congratulate the victors, and partly to see the games, and in so great a number of both sea and land forces, provisions were so plenty and cheap, that the general made presents of them to private persons, states, and nations, not only for present use, but likewise to carry home. The vast crouds that met there, came not so much out of curiosity to see the games, wrestling, and chariot-races, as the Macedonian spoils exposed to view: such as, pictures, statues, tapestry, all kinds of gold and silver, brass and ivory vases of curious workmanship, which were kept in his palace; not for present show, as those with which the palace of Alexandria was filled, but for constant use. All these were put on board the fleet, and delivered to the

the care of Octavius to be carried to Rome. Paulius having graciously dismissed the ambassadors, passed the Strymon, and incamped about a mile from Amphipolis, from whence in five days he reached Pella. He passed it, and staid two days at Spelaeus, from whence he sent P. Nasica and Q. Maximus his son with a strong detachment to ravage the country of the Illyrians, because they had aided Perses in the war, ordering them at the same time to meet him at Oricus. He himself set out for Epirus, and in five days arrived at Passaron.

CHAP. XXXIV. He was now nigh the camp of Anicius, to whom he dispatched a courier with letters, " forbidding him to meddle in the present affairs; for the senate had given the plunder of the cities of Epirus, that had revolted to Perses, to the army." Then he sent centurions into each city, under pretext of withdrawing the garrisons, that the Epirotes might enjoy liberty as well as the Macedonians. He summoned ten leading men from each city, whom he ordered to bring all the gold and silver into the public places, and forthwith detached some cohorts to each city in such a manner as they might all arrive at their appointed posts on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to behave: in the morning the gold and silver were all brought out, and about ten o'clock the signal was given to the soldiers to plunder the cities. The booty was so considerable that each horseman had 400 sesterces *, and each foot-soldier 200 †, and they carried off 150,000 prisoners. Then they demolished the walls of about seventy cities. All the booty was sold, and the price distributed among the soldiers. Paullus then set out towards the sea to Oricum. He imagined he had satisfied his soldiers, but was mistaken, for they were offended that they had not shared in the king's treasures, as if they had not so much as drawn a

* 12L. 18S. 4d.

† 6L. 9S. 2d.

sword in Macedonia. Finding Nasica and his son Maximus, with their detachment at Oricus, he embarked the army, and transported them to Italy. A few days after, Anicius, having assembled the rest of the Epirotes and Acarnanians, ordered their leading men to follow him to Rome, reserving them to be tried there. Having waited the return of the fleet which had transported Æmilius's army, he set sail for Italy. During these transactions in Macedonia and Epirus, the ambassadors which were sent with Attalus to put an end to the war between the Gallo-Greeks and king Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a truce during the winter, the Gallo-Greeks went home, and the king set out for his winter-quarters at Pergamus, where he was taken very ill. It was spring before he stirred abroad. In the mean time the commissioners came to Synnada *, while Eumenes assembled his army from all parts to Sardis. At Synnada the Romans had an interview with Solovettius, general of the Gallo-Greeks : Attalus also attended them thither ; but it was not thought proper that he should go to the Gallo-Greeks camp, for fear of irritating them to quarrel. P. Licinius had a conference with the petty prince of the Gauls, but reported that intreaties only irritated his ferocity. Thus it is surprising, that the Roman ambassadors should have had so much influence upon two potent kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, that they immediately concluded a peace, but none with the Gallo-Greeks.

CHAP. XXXV. The two captive kings, Gentius and Perse, arrived first at Rome, and were there confined with their children. After them came a great number of ordinary prisoners, and such of the Macedonians and principal men of Greece as had been ordered to repair to Rome ; for not only those who were present had been summoned, but even such as were said to have been at foreign courts,

* In Phrygia Major, famous for marble.

were sent for by letters. Some time after Paullus came up the Tiber on board one of the king's largest ships, having sixteen benches of oars, and decked with the Macedonian spoils. She was not only adorned with arms, but likewise with tapestry belonging to Perses. The banks of the river were lined with vast crowds of people which poured out to see him. Some days after, Anicius and Octavius landed with their fleet. The senate voted them all three a triumph; and Quintus Cassius the prætor, with the tribunes of the commons, were ordered to move the people, in name of the senate, to impower these generals to retain their command for the day they should enter the city in triumph. Envy, neglecting inferior merit, generally aims at the most distinguished. For the people did not hesitate in relation to the triumph of Anicius and Octavius, but Paullus, to whom they would have been ashamed to compare themselves, was much reflected upon. He had maintained the ancient discipline among the soldiers; and had given them a less share than they expected of the vast booty taken from the king; for he would have left nothing for the treasury if he had indulged their avarice; in consequence the whole Macedonian army resolved not to attend their general at the comitia, for passing the law. But Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who had been tribune of the second legion in Macedonia, and was a secret enemy to the general, by cajoling some himself, and soliciting the rest by those of his own legion, induced them to attend and give their votes. "You may now be "revenged," said he, "of your haughty and info-
"lent general, by rejecting the bill for his triumph.
"The commons of the city will follow your exam-
"ple. Since he would not give you the money you
"desired, have you it not in your power to deprive
"him of honour? let him expect no favours where
"he has deserved none."

CHAP. XXXVI. Being thus irritated, Ti. Sem-
pronius,

pronius, tribune of the people, brought the bill before an assembly in the Capitol. In such cases private men by law were permitted to speak; yet none appearing to oppose it, as it did not seem to admit any difficulty, Servilius Galba all of a sudden started forwards, and demanded of the tribune, “that since the day was now far spent, it being two o’clock in the afternoon, and he had not time sufficient to give his reasons, why they should refuse L. Æmilius a triumph, the affair might be deferred till next day, when they might enter upon it in the morning; for they needed a whole day to plead that cause.” The tribune desired him to speak his mind then. Upon this he began, and, by details of facts and admonitions, spun out the time till night. He said, “The troops had been enjoined more severe duty, and exposed to greater fatigue and danger than was necessary: and on the other hand, rewards, honours, and every other advantage had been bestowed with a very liberal hand: that as the war would be very hard and dreadful to the troops in the field, if such generals were employed, so when victors, they would be but poorly rewarded and honoured. That the Macedonians were in better condition than the Roman soldiers. If they should all meet next day to reject the bill, then great men would know, that all power was not vested in a general, but some in the soldiers.” Instigated by this harangue, the soldiers next day came in so great crowds to the Capitol, that none else could enter to give their votes. The first tribes, being called, absolutely rejected the bill. Then the nobility ran to the Capitol, loudly remonstrating, “That it was shameful to rob Paullus, who had come off victor in so great a war, of his triumph: that generals should be subjected to licentious and avaritious soldiers. Generals often were to blame for remitting discipline to please the soldiers; but what

“ would be the consequence, if private men became
“ the commanders of generals ? ” Every one re-
proached Galba. A length, after the tumult was
appeased, M. Servilius, who had been consul and
general of horse, desired the tribunes to resume the
affair, and allow him to speak to the people. The
tribunes retired to deliberate on his request ; and,
overcome by the authority of nobility, resumed the
matter, and declared they would call the same tribes
a second time, if M. Servilius, or any other private
person had any thing to say.

CHAP. XXXVII. Then Servilius spoke to the
following effect. “ Romans, if we had no other
“ proof of Æmilius’s abilities as a general, even this
“ would be sufficient, that though he had a mutinous
“ and fickle army, and in his camp so notorious,
“ rash, and eloquent an enemy, to excite the multi-
“ tude against him, yet he had no sedition among
“ them. The same strict discipline, which they now
“ resent, then restrained them. In consequence,
“ they remained quiet while the ancient discipline
“ was maintained. If Servius Galba had a mind to
“ give a proof of his parts, and a specimen of his e-
“ loquence, by accusing Æmilius, he ought not to
“ have opposed a triumph, which, all other consid-
“ erations apart, the senate had declared him worthy
“ of : no ; he should have waited till the day after
“ his triumph, when he would have seen him in a
“ private capacity, and then lodged an information
“ against him, and prosecuted him in a legal man-
“ ner ; or till a longer time, when he himself should
“ have obtained some magistracy, and then accused
“ his enemy, and fixed the day of his trial, before
“ the people. By this means Paullus would have
“ got the just reward of his excellent conduct in the
“ war, a triumph ; and at the same time met punish-
“ ment, if he had been guilty of any thing unworthy
“ of his ancient and recent glory. But truly since
“ he had no real crime to object, no well-found-

“ ed

“ ed reproach to throw out against him, he was re-
“ solved to detract from his merited praise. Yester-
“ day he asked the space of a whole day to accuse
“ Paullus, and then declaimed against him for full
“ four hours, which was all that remained of that
“ day. But who was ever so notoriously wicked,
“ whose vices might not have been recounted in less
“ time? After all, what did he object, which Paul-
“ lus, was he to make his defence, could not with
“ justice deny? Give me leave a little; let us sup-
“ pose his complaints to have been brought before
“ two different assemblies; the one consisting of the
“ army from Macedonia, the other of the whole
“ Roman citizens, impartial, unprejudiced judges,
“ actuated neither by favour or hatred. What,
“ Galba, could you have said before real Romans?
“ would not this fine speech of yours have been in-
“ terrupted? “ You, Paullus, obliged us to guard
“ our posts with great severity and attention; you
“ made our centinels and rounds do their duty with
“ more rigour, than former commanders did; you
“ exacted from us more fatigue than before, being
“ every where in person, and affording us no respite.
“ On the same day you led us from a march against
“ an enemy. Nay, even after gaining the victory,
“ you did not suffer us to enjoy repose, but imme-
“ diately led us in pursuit of the enemy. When
“ you had it in your power to enrich us by a distri-
“ bution of the spoils, you reserved the king's trea-
“ sures to adorn your triumph, and to be carried
“ into the treasury.” But, Galba, though these
“ things may serve to excite the resentment of troops,
“ who imagine their licentiousness and avarice have
“ not been sufficiently gratified; yet they would
“ have had no weight with the Roman people; who,
“ without running back to what has been told them
“ by their parents, for proofs of the defeats they
“ have received by the mild and lax discipline of ge-
“ nerals, and victories gained by the contrary, still

“ remember the quarrel between the dictator Fabius,
 “ and Minucius his general of horse. In conse-
 “ quence you might have known your accusation
 “ would not have met with this reception, and that
 “ Paullus would not have been put to the trouble of
 “ making a defence. But let us proceed to the o-
 “ ther assembly : here I see I must not call you Ro-
 “ mans, but soldiers, and even that title should
 “ make you blush and be ashamed of injuring your
 “ general.

CHAP. XXXVIII. “ In truth I myself am different-
 “ ly affected, when I seem to speak to an army, than
 “ I was just now when I directed my discourse to
 “ modest citizens. Come, fellow-soldiers, what is
 “ it you say ? Is there any person at Rome, except
 “ Perse, who dislikes triumphing over the Macedo-
 “ nians ; and do you not pull him to pieces with those
 “ very hands, by whose help you vanquished the Mace-
 “ donians ? He who hinders you from entering our
 “ city in triumph, would have hindered you from
 “ gaining the victory, if he had had it in his power.
 “ You deceive yourselves, soldiers, if you imagine,
 “ that the honour of your general only is concerned
 “ in a triumph : no ! the honour of the troops and
 “ the whole Roman people is interested in it. It
 “ does not concern Paullus alone. Besides, many
 “ generals who could not prevail with the senate to
 “ grant them a triumph, have triumphed on mount
 “ Alba. No man can rob Paullus of the honour of
 “ having terminated the Macedonian war, more
 “ than they can Lutatius of the first Punic war,
 “ Scipio of the second, or other succeeding generals
 “ of the conquest for which they triumphed. Nei-
 “ ther will a triumph add to or detract from Paullus's
 “ merit as a general. The reputation of the troops
 “ and the whole Roman people is more concerned ;
 “ in the first place, to prevent its being reckoned
 “ the effect of envy and ingratitude to every illustrious
 “ citizen ; and your seeming, after the example of
 “ the

“ the Athenians, to malign the best of your men.
“ You ancestors were sufficiently to blame in the
“ case of Camillus; and yet all the injury they did
“ him, preceded his recovering Rome from the
“ Gauls; and you yourselves are criminal enough
“ with regard to Africanus, in having obliged the
“ conqueror of Africa, to reside in an obscure pri-
“ vate country-seat at Litternum, and that his se-
“ pulchre is to be seen there at this day. Ought we
“ not to blush, if your injustice should equal Paul-
“ lus in point of injury to these men, whom he e-
“ quals in merit and glory? But let us utterly obli-
“ terate this infamy, which gains us discredit in fo-
“ reign countries, and is extremely prejudicial to
“ our own. For who would wish to be like Africa-
“ nus or Paullus, in a city which is ungrateful and
“ an enemy to good men? But suppose there was
“ no infamy in it, and the question was only about
“ glory, what triumph does not reflect honour upon
“ all the Roman name in general? Are the num-
“ berless triumphs for the Gauls, Spaniards, and
“ Carthaginians, reckoned the triumphs of the ge-
“ nerals or Roman people? As triumphs were cele-
“ brated not for Pyrrhus or Hannibal alone, but for
“ the Epirotes and Carthaginians, so it was not
“ M. Curius or Africanus, but the Roman peo-
“ ple who triumphed. In this case the greatest glo-
“ ry rebounds on the soldiers, who, crowned with
“ laurel and adorned with military rewards, march
“ through the city, crying, *Io Triumphe*, and sing-
“ ing their own and their general's praises. If the
“ troops at any time should not be brought from
“ their province to share in the triumph, they mur-
“ mur; and yet at the same time they think, that,
“ though absent, it is they who triumph, because
“ the victory was obtained by their hands. Fellow-
“ soldiers, if any one should ask you, for what pur-
“ pose you were brought back to Italy, and were not
“ disbanded as soon as the war was terminated, why
“ you

“ you came in such crouds to Rome under your
“ colours ; for what reason you stay here, and do
“ not disperse and go home ; what other answer
“ would you give, than that you desire to be seen
“ triumphing here ? And indeed, you who have gain-
“ ed the victory, ought to desire to be seen.

CHAP. XXXIX. “ There were lately triumphs for
“ Philip, this Perse's father, and for Antiochus, and
“ these during the reign of those princes ; shall there
“ then be no triumph for Perse, who is a prisoner,
“ and brought hither with his children ? If from the
“ croud below, L. Paullus should in a private ca-
“ pacity ask Anicus and Octavius ascending to the
“ Capitol, adorned with gold and purple, “ Do
“ you think you have merited a triumph better than
“ me ? ” I am confident, they would quit their
“ chariots to him, and for very shame deliver him
“ the triumphal ensigns. Do you, Romans, chuse
“ to see Gentius rather than Perse, the associate
“ rather than the principal in the war, led in tri-
“ umph ? Shall the legions and sailors from Illyri-
“ cum enter Rome crowned with laurel, and shall
“ the army from Macedon, denied a triumph : hem-
“ selves, be only spectators of that of others ? What
“ then shall be done with the rich booty got by
“ their victory ? Where shall so many thousand
“ arms, stripped from the bodies of enemies, be hid ?
“ Shall thy be sent back to Macedonia ? How
“ shall we dispose of the vast quantities of gold,
“ marble, and ivory statues, fine paintings, tapestry,
“ so much chased silver plate, so much gold,
“ and the immense treasures taken from Perse ?
“ Shall they, as if stolen, be carried into the treasury
“ by night ? What shall become of the most con-
“ spicuous shew of all ? Where shall this most noble
“ and puissant captive monarch be shewn to the
“ victorious people ? The greatest part of us remem-
“ ber, what a vast concourse of people ran to see
“ the captive Syphax, who was only an associate in
“ the

“ the Punic war. Shall then Perse, now a prisoner, and his sons Philip and Alexander, personages of so great renown, be kept from the citizens sight? Every body desires to see L. Paullus, who has been twice consul, and subdued Greece, enter the city in a triumphal chariot. Did we not chuse him consul, to terminate a war, which had been protracted during four years to our great shame? shall he, to whom we, with prophetic souls, destined victory and a triumph, when Macedonia fell to him by lot, and he set out for it, be denied a triumph when victorious? Shall not only men, but even the gods, be robbed of their honour? For it is not only due to men, but to the immortals. Did not your ancestors both begin and end all important enterprises with applications to the gods? A consul, or prætor, when he sets out with his lictors, and in his warlike habiliments, for his province, or to a war, makes his vows in the Capitol: when he has terminated the war, and returns victorious and triumphing to the Capitol, he brings the presents of the Roman people, so well deserved, to the same gods, whom he invoked at his setting out: for the victims which walk foremost in the procession, are no small part of the ceremony, as hereby it appears, that the general returns thanks to the gods, for his success in conducting the affairs of the state. As for all those victims which he sets aside to be led in the procession, let them be slain by the hands of whom you will: but will you, at the instigation of Servius Galba, disturb the entertainments of the senators, which are prepared, neither in a private or profane place, but in the Capitol, and are there exhibited, not for the indulgence of men alone, but of gods and men together? Shall the gates be shut against the triumph of Paullus? Shall Perse, king of Macedon, his children, and a croud of other prisoners, shall the rich

“ rich spoils of his kingdom, be left on the banks
“ of the Tiber? Shall Paullus, as if returning from
“ a journey in the country, walk as a private per-
“ son from the gates to his house? But do you,
“ centurions and soldiers, listen to the senate's de-
“ cree in favour of Paullus, rather than to the fic-
“ tions of Galba: hearken more to this my speech
“ than to his. He hath only learned to prate, and
“ that maliciously and with malignity. As to my-
“ self, I have fought twenty-three single combats,
“ and carried off the spoils of every enemy I enga-
“ ged. I bear the scars of many honourable wounds
“ about me, being all before.” Upon this it is said
he opened his breast, and recounted the battles in
which he had received each particular wound. In
shewing the scars, he chanced to discover, what
should have been concealed, a swelling in his groin,
which raised a great laugh amongst those who stood
next him. Then he continued, “ Even this which
“ you laugh at is the effect of my being whole days
“ and nights successively on horseback: neither am
“ I more ashamed of it than of my scars, since it
“ never obstructed the performance of my duty ei-
“ ther at home or in the field. Well, I, an old
“ soldier, have shewn the young my body, with
“ the marks of many wounds. Now let Galba
“ shew his delicate whole skin. Pray, tribunes, call
“ back the tribes to vote anew. I will come
“ down, soldiers, [and accompany you to the vo-
“ ting-place, that I may personally distinguish those
“ among you who exceed their companions in in-
“ bred forwardness and ingratitude to generals, and
“ who in war would have their officers humour,
“ not to say OBEY, them, rather than submit to
“ lawful command.” This speech made such an
impression on the other citizens, but in particular
upon the soldiery, that the remaining tribes unani-
mously voted a triumph to Paullus, who by his sig-
nal victory had merited it, as much as ever general
did.

did. His triumph far exceeded all preceding ones, either for the greatness of the conquered king led in the procession, the excellence of the statues and paintings, or the immense sums carried before the victor.] [The people erected scaffolds in the forum and circus, and all the other parts of the city, where they could best behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments ; all the temples were open and full of garlands and perfumes ; the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers and tipstaffs, that drove away such as thronged the passage, or straggled up and down. This triumph lasted three days. On the first, which was scarce long enough for the sight, were to be seen, the statues, pictures, and images of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon 250 chariots. On the second was carried, in a great many wains, the fairest and the richest armour of the Macedonians, both of brass and steel, all newly furbished and glittering ; which, though piled up with the greatest art and order, yet seemed to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance : helmets were thrown on shields, coats of mail upon greaves, Cretan targets, and Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows lay huddled among the horses bits ; and through these appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long spears. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that they knocked against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise : so that the very spoils of the conquered could not be beheld without dread. After these waggons loaded with armour, there followed 3000 men, who carried the silver that was coined, in 750 vessels, each of which weighed three talents, and was carried by four men. Others brought silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, all disposed in such order as to make the best show, and all valuable, as well for their bigness, as the thickness of their engraved work.

work. On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a procession, or solemn entry, but such a charge as the Romans use when they encourage their soldiers to fight. Next followed young men girt about with girdles, curiously wrought, who led to the sacrifice 120 stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribands and garland : and with these were boys that carried platters of silver and gold. After this was brought the gold coin, which was divided into vessels that weighed three talents, like to those that contained the silver ; they were in number fourscore wanting three. These were followed by those that brought the consecrated bowl, which Æmilius caused to be made, that weighed ten talents, and was set round with precious stones : then were exposed to view the cups of Antigonus and Seleucus, and such as were made after the fashion invented by Theicles, and all the gold plate that was used at Perse's table. Next to these came Perse's chariot, in which his armour was placed, and on that his diadem. And, after a little intermission, the king's children were led captives, and with them a train of nurses, maisters, and governors, who all wept, stretching forth their hands to the spectators, and taught the little infants to beg and intreat their compassion. There were two sons and a daughter, who, by reason of their tender age, were altogether insensible of the greatness of their misery ; which insensibility of their condition rendered it much more deplorable ; insomuch that Perse himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst pity had fixed the eyes of the Romans upon the infants, and many of them could not forbear weeping : all beheld the sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy, until the children were past. After his children and their attendants, came Perse himself, clad all in black, and wearing slippers, after the fashion of his country : he looked like one altogether astonish-

ed and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortunes. Next followed a great company of his friends, whose countenances were disfigured with grief, and who testified, to all that beheld them, by their tears, and their continual looking upon Perse, that it was his hard fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. — After these were carried 400 crowns all made of gold, and sent from the cities, by their respective ambassadors, to Æmilius, as a reward due to his valour *.]

CHAP. XL. Valerius Antias says, that the gold and silver taken, and brought over, amounted to 1,200,000 sesterces *: but from the number of the waggons employed to carry them, and the weight of the gold and silver, which he hath mentioned only in general terms, it must have been much more. He is also said to have either spent in the late war, or in his flight to Samothrace, an equal sum. This was so much the more surprising, as this immense sum had been amassed in the space of thirty years, after the war between Philip and the Romans, partly from the mines, and partly from other revenues. Thus Philip undertook a war against the Romans when his coffers were very empty, and Perse, on the other hand, when his were very full. Last of all came Paulus himself, seated in a chariot, making a very majestic appearance, as well on account of the gracefulness of his person, as of his venerable age. Behind his chariot, amongst other illustrious men, were his two sons, Q. Maximus and P. Scipio. Next marched the cavalry by troops, and the infantry by cohorts, every one in their proper ranks. Each foot-soldier had 100 denarii, a centurion double, and a horseman thrice as much: it is thought he would have given the latter sum to every foot-soldier, and proportionably to the others, if either they

* Kennet. Antiq. p. 2. b. 4. c. 16.

† 968,750 l. Arbuthnot.

had not opposed his triumph, or had shouted in token of their approbation of this very sum, when they were told of it. But Perseus, in his being led in chains before the chariot of the victorious general through the city of his enemies, was not the only instance, on this occasion, of the instability of human affairs; for even the conqueror Paullus, glittering with gold and purple, was an affecting instance of it. For of the two sons whom he had kept in his house to be the heirs of his name, religious rites, and family, (for the other two had been adopted into other families); the youngest, about twelve years old, had died five days before the triumph, and the eldest, at the age of fourteen, three days after it. These ought to have rode in the chariot with their father, dressed in their prætexta, foreboding like triumphs to themselves. A few days after, M. Antonius, tribune of the commons, having called an assembly, he gave an account of his services, according to the usual custom of other generals, and then made a remarkable speech, worthy of a true Roman.

CHAP. XLI. " Though my triumph, Romans,
" and the funerals of my children, which have al-
" ternately served as sights to you, cannot have left
" you ignorant, both how successfully I have con-
" ducted the affairs of the commonwealth, and how
" my family has been twice struck by heaven; yet
" pray permit me in a few words to make a compa-
" rison betwixt the happiness of the public, and my
" private misfortune, with a becoming temper of
" mind. At my departure from Italy, I set sail
" from Brundisium at sun-rising, and at three in
" the afternoon I reached Corcyra with my whole
" fleet. Five days after I offered a sacrifice to A-
" pollo at Delphi, in behalf of myself, the army,
" and fleet. From Delphi in five days more I arri-
" ved at the camp, where having taken upon me
" the command of the army, and reformed several
" abuses

“ abuses which were great obstacles to victory, I
“ advanced to the enemy. But seeing the enemies
“ lines were impregnable, and that the king could
“ not be forced to a battle, I made my way through
“ the defile of Petra, notwithstanding his troops
“ were posted to guard it, and having obliged
“ him to fight, I defeated him, reduced Macedonia
“ into subjection to the Roman people, and in fif-
“ teen days terminated a war, which the preceding
“ consuls had conducted in such a manner during
“ four years, that the last always transmitted it to
“ his successor in a worse state than he had found it.
“ This was succeeded by a great train of other pro-
“ sperous events; all the towns of Macedonia sub-
“ mitted; the king's treasures fell into my hands:
“ the king himself with his children was taken pri-
“ soner in the temple of Samothrace, being as it
“ were delivered up by the gods themselves. My
“ good fortune at this time seemed too great even to
“ myself, and therefore I became suspicious of her
“ inconstancy. I began to apprehend the dangers
“ of the sea, in transporting the king's immense
“ treasures, and a victorious army to Italy. After
“ all the fleet had had a prosperous voyage, and
“ every thing was landed safe in Italy, and I had no-
“ thing more to ask of the gods; I prayed, that since,
“ in the course of human affairs, the greatest pro-
“ sperities were usually followed by great adversities,
“ that the calamities threatened by such change
“ might fall on my house, rather than on the com-
“ monwealth. Therefore I hope the public has no-
“ thing to apprehend, after such a signal calamity
“ has befallen me; in that my triumph, as if to de-
“ ride human prosperity, has been preceded by the
“ funeral of one of my sons, and followed by that
“ of another. Perseus and I have been exhibited as
“ two illustrious examples of the fate of mortals.
“ He, who, himself a captive, hath seen his chil-
“ dren led in captivity, nevertheless has them safe.”

“ I, who have triumphed for him, went from the
“ funeral of one of my sons in my chariot to ascend
“ the Capitol, and descended from thence almost to
“ see the other expire in my sight. Thus of a nu-
“ merous race of sons none remains to bear the
“ name of L. Æmilius Paullus. For, as if I had
“ had too many, I gave the Cornelian and Fabian
“ families two of them, one to each, by adoption;
“ and none remains in the family of Paullus besides
“ himself. But your felicity, and the good fortune
“ of the public, console me for this solitude to which
“ my house is reduced.”

CHAP. XLII. This discourse, expressed with so much magnanimity, touched the passions of the hearers more than if he had endeavoured to move their compassion by mournfully deplored his misfortunes. Cn. Octavius had a naval triumph for Perse on the first of December. This triumph was without prisoners and spoils. He distributed to each private sailor seventy-five denarii, to the pilots double, and to the captains four times as much. Then the senate was assembled, and the Fathers decreed, that Q. Caecilius should carry king Perse with his son Alexander to the prison of Alba; together with what attendants, money, plate, and furniture he had. Bitis, son of the Thracian king, was sent with the hostages into custody at Carœoli. The rest of the captives that had been led in triumph, were ordered to be cast into prison. A few days after these events ambassadors arrived from Cotys, king of Thrace, with money to ransom his son, and the other hostages. Being admitted to an audience of the senate, they principally alledged in excuse for their master, “ that he had not voluntarily assisted “ Perse in the war, having been compelled to give “ him hostages. They also begged permission to “ ransom his son at any sum the senate should fix.” The Fathers answered, “ That the Roman people
“ remembered the ancient friendship between the
“ commonwealth.

" commonwealth and Cotys's ancestors, and the
" Thracian nation. That his having given hostages
" was the accusation, and would not serve for a de-
" fence, since Perses, even in time of peace, could
" not be formidable to the Thracians, much less
" when engaged in a war with the Romans. How-
" ever, though Cotys had preferred the friendship of
" Perses to that of the Roman people; yet they
" would more consider what became their own dig-
" nity than his demerit. That they would send
" back his son, and the hostages. That the favours
" of the Roman people were always free, because
" they chose rather to leave the value in the hearts
" and to the gratitude of the receivers, than to de-
" mand and require any compensation for them."

T. Quinctius Flamininus, C. Licinius Nerva, and M. Caninius Rebilus, were nominated commissioners to carry back the hostages to Thrace; and the Thracian ambassadors had presents made them of 2000 asses of brass to each. Bitis, with the other hostages, was brought from Carseoli, and sent to his father along with the commissioners. The ships of an unusual bulk taken from the Macedonians, were haled up into the field of Mars.

CHAP. XLIII. While the remembrance of the triumph for the Macedonian was still fresh, not only in their minds, but even almost in their eyes, L. Anicius triumphed for king Gentius and the Illyrians during the feast of Romulus. In it every thing seemed to bear a resemblance to, rather than in substance equal the former triumph. Anicius the general was inferior to Æmilius both in nobility and quality, the former being only a prætor, and the latter a consul: nor could Gentius be compared to Perses, the Illyrians to the Macedonians, or the spoils, money, and presents of the one, to the same of the other. But though the late triumph was more brilliant than this, yet it appeared, that this, attentively considered in itself, was nowise contemptible.

For Anicius had in a few days totally subdued the Illyrians, a formidable nation both by land and sea, and which relied on its strong fortresses : he had taken the king and all his family prisoners ; he carried in his triumph many colours with other spoils, and royal furniture ; twenty-seven pound weight of gold *, and nineteen of silver † ; 3000 denarii ‡, and 120,000 of Illyrian money. Before his chariot were led king Gentius, his wife, children, Carravantius his brother, and several Illyrian noblemen. Of the booty he gave to each of his foot-soldiers forty-five denarii, double to a centurion, and thrice as much to a horseman : the Latin allies had as much as citizens ; and the sailors as much as the soldiers. The soldiers followed this triumph with more cheerfulness than the former, and chanted forth the praises of their general. Valerius Antias says, that the money arising from that booty amounted to 200,000 sesterces, besides the gold and silver which was carried into the treasury. But as it does not appear from whence such a sum could arise, I have mentioned my author. King Gentius, with his wife, children, and brother, was, by a decree of the senate, carried to prison at Spoleto, but the rest of the captives were imprisoned at Rome ; but as the Spoletoans refused to take charge of the royal prisoners, they were sent to Igiturium. The remainder of the Illyrian booty were 220 pinnaces taken from king Gentius. These Q. Caſſius, by order of the senate, distributed amongst the Corcyraeans, Apolloniates, and Dyrrahachians.

CHAP. XLIV. The consuls of the present year having only ravaged the lands of the Ligurians, without performing any thing worth notice, because the enemy never took the field, returned to Rome, to hold the election of magistrates. The first day of the comitium the fasces were given to M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Sulpicius Gallus. The next day L.

• 12961.

† 571.

‡ 961. 17s. 6d.

Julius,

Julius, L. Appuleius Saturninus, A. Licinius Nerva, P. Rutilius Calvus, P. Quintilius Varus, and M. Fontcius were elected prætors. To these prætors were decreed the two city-provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia. This was leap-year, and the intercalary day was the next following the feast of Terminus. C. Claudius the augur died this year, and the augurs chose T. Quinctius Flamininus to succeed him. Q. Fabius Pictor, priest of Romulus, died also. The same year king Prusias came to Rome with his son Nicomedes. Having entered the city with a great retinue, he proceeded from the gate towards the forum and the tribunal of Q. Caecilius the prætor; and the people crowding about him from all quarters, he declared, "That he was come to " worship the gods that inhabited the city of Rome ; " to pay his compliments to the Roman senate " and people, and to congratulate them on their " defeat of Perse and Gentius, and on enlarging " their empire by the conquest of Macedonia and Illyricum." When the prætor acquainted him, that he might have an audience of the senate that very day, if he pleased, he demanded two days to visit the temples of the gods, the city, and his acquaintance and friends. L. Cornelius Scipio the quæstor, who had been sent to meet him at Capua, was ordered to attend him every where, and lodgings were hired for the commodious reception of him and his retinue. The third day he went to the senate, congratulated them upon the victory, recounted his services in that war, and demanded permission " to perform his " vows, by offering the ten greater sacrifices in the " Capitol at Rome, and one at Prænestæ, to the " goddess Fortune : which vows had been made for " the victory of the Roman people ; and that they " would renew the alliance with him, and grant " him a certain territory conquered from king " Antiochus, which the Gauls had seized, without " its being given to any body by the Romans. Last-

“ ly, he recommended his son Nicomedes to the se-
“ nate.” He was seconded by all the generals who
had commanded in Macedonia. In consequence the
rest of his demands were granted ; but touching the
territory, he was answered, “ That the senate would
“ send commissioners to examine into the affair :
“ and if it should appear, that it belonged to the
“ Roman people, and had not been granted to any
“ body else, they should look on Prusias as most de-
“ serving that present. But if it had not belonged
“ to Antiochus, and it thereby appeared that the
“ Roman people had no right to dispose of it ; or if
“ the Gauls had got a previous grant of it, Prusias
“ ought to excuse the Romans if they were unwill-
“ ing to give him any thing to the prejudice of o-
“ thers. That a gift could not be acceptable even
“ to the person on whom it was bestowed, which he
“ knew might be taken from him whenever the do-
“ nor pleased. That they readily accepted his re-
“ commendation of Nicomedes ; and that Ptolemy
“ king of Egypt was a proof of the great care the
“ Roman people took of the children of kings in a-
“ mity with them.” With this answer Prusias was
dismissed. Presents of 100,000 sesterces were order-
ed to be made to him, and fifty pound weight of
silver plate. It was also decreed, that Nicomedes,
the king’s son, should have a present of the same va-
lue made to him, as had been made to Mægaba son
of king Mæsinissa ; and that victims, and other neces-
saries for sacrifices, should be furnished Prusias by the
public, in the same manner as to the Roman magi-
trates, whether he had a mind to sacrifice at Rome,
or at Prænestē : and that twenty frigates from the
fleet at Brundisium should be assigned for his use,
till he should arrive at the fleet he had been present-
ed with ; L. Cornelius Scipio was ordered to attend
him constantly, and entertain him and his retinue
till they should imbark. It is reported, that the
king was charmed with the kind and bountiful usage
he.

he met with from the Romans: that he refused the presents that were made to himself, but ordered his son to accept the present of the Roman people. Thus much our writers relate concerning Prusias. Polybius says, this king was unworthy of that royal title: that he used to meet the ambassadors with his head shaved and a cap on, and call himself the freed man of the Roman people, and therefore wore the badges of that order. That at Rome likewise, when he came to the senate-house, he prostrated himself and kissed the threshold: and that he called the senators the gods his preservers, with other expressions not so honourable to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. After staying a month at Rome, he set out for his own kingdom.

The End of the EIGHTH VOLUME.



Edinburgh, March 1. 1762.

The following Books are just published by
A. DONALDSON, *Edinburgh*, and sold by him
and other booksellers in town and country.

1. Dean Swift's whole works, a neat and correct edition; with some additional pieces, not included in any former Scotch edition; also the life of the author, and a complete index to the whole; eight large volumes 12mo. Price 1 l. 4 s. bound.
2. Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, prime minister to Henry the Great. Newly translated from the French edition of M. de L'Ecluse. Illustrated with an accurate map of France. To which is annexed, The trial of Francis Ravaillac, for the murder of Henry the Great. In five large volumes 12mo. Price 15 s. bound in calf and lettered, or 12 s. 6 d. sewed in blue paper.
3. Ramsay's Tea-table miscellany: A collection of choice songs, Scots and English. 4 vols in one. A new edition, 1762. Price 3 s. bound.
4. Mr Matthew Henry's exposition of the Old and New Testaments, 6 vols folio. The sixth edition. — Price of the fine paper in quires, 4 l. 10 s. and the coarse 3 l. 10 s. — the binding 3 s. per volume in calf.
5. A paraphrase and commentary on the New Testament, 2 vols 4to. By Daniel Whitby, D. D. The seventh edition. Price 1 l. 12 s. bound.
6. Abp Tillotson's whole works, a new edition, 10 large vols 12mo. Price 1 l. 5 s. bound.
7. The works of Mr John Glas. In four volumes large 8vo. Price 1 l. in boards.
8. Sacramental meditations and advices, grounded on scripture-texts, proper for communicants. Together with a short Christian directory; a lecture concerning the Lord's supper, a preparation-sermon, and an action-sermon. By Mr John Willison, 8vo. Price 1 s. 6 d. bound.
9. A sacramental directory; or, A treatise concerning the sanctification of a communion sabbath. By Mr John

Books printed for A. DONALDSON.

John Willison. The fifth edition. 8vo. Price 1 s. 6 d. bound.

10. The afflicted man's companion ; or, A directory for families and persons in sickness. By Mr John Willison. 8vo. Price 1 s. 6 d. bound.

11. Death and heaven ; or, The last enemy conquered ; and, Separate spirits made perfect. By Isaac Watts, D. D. The fourth edition. Price 1 s. bound.

12. Observations on Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks ; and on a late interpretation, in which it is wholly applied to the history of the Jews. By the Rev. Dr Maqueen. 8vo. Price 1 s. sewed.

13. Nineteen sermons by Mr Joseph Foord, late preacher of the gospel in Edinburgh. Edit. 3. 12mo. Price 1 s. 6d. bound.

14. Human nature in its fourfold state. By the late Rev. Mr Thomas Boston, minister at Etterick. 12th edit. Price 1 s. 6 d. bound.

15. Marshall's gospel-mystery of sanctification opened in sundry practical directions. 8vo. Price 1 s. 6 d. bound.

16. The communicant's companion ; or, Instructions and helps for the right receiving of the Lord's supper. By Mr Matthew Henry. 8vo. Price 1 s. 6 d. bound.

17. Dr Scott's Christian life, from its beginning to its consummation in glory, 5 vols 12mo. Price 15 s. bound.

18. Discourses on the being and attributes of God, in which the first principle of religion, the existence of God, is proved. By John Abernethy, A M. 2 vols 12mo. Price 6 s. bound.

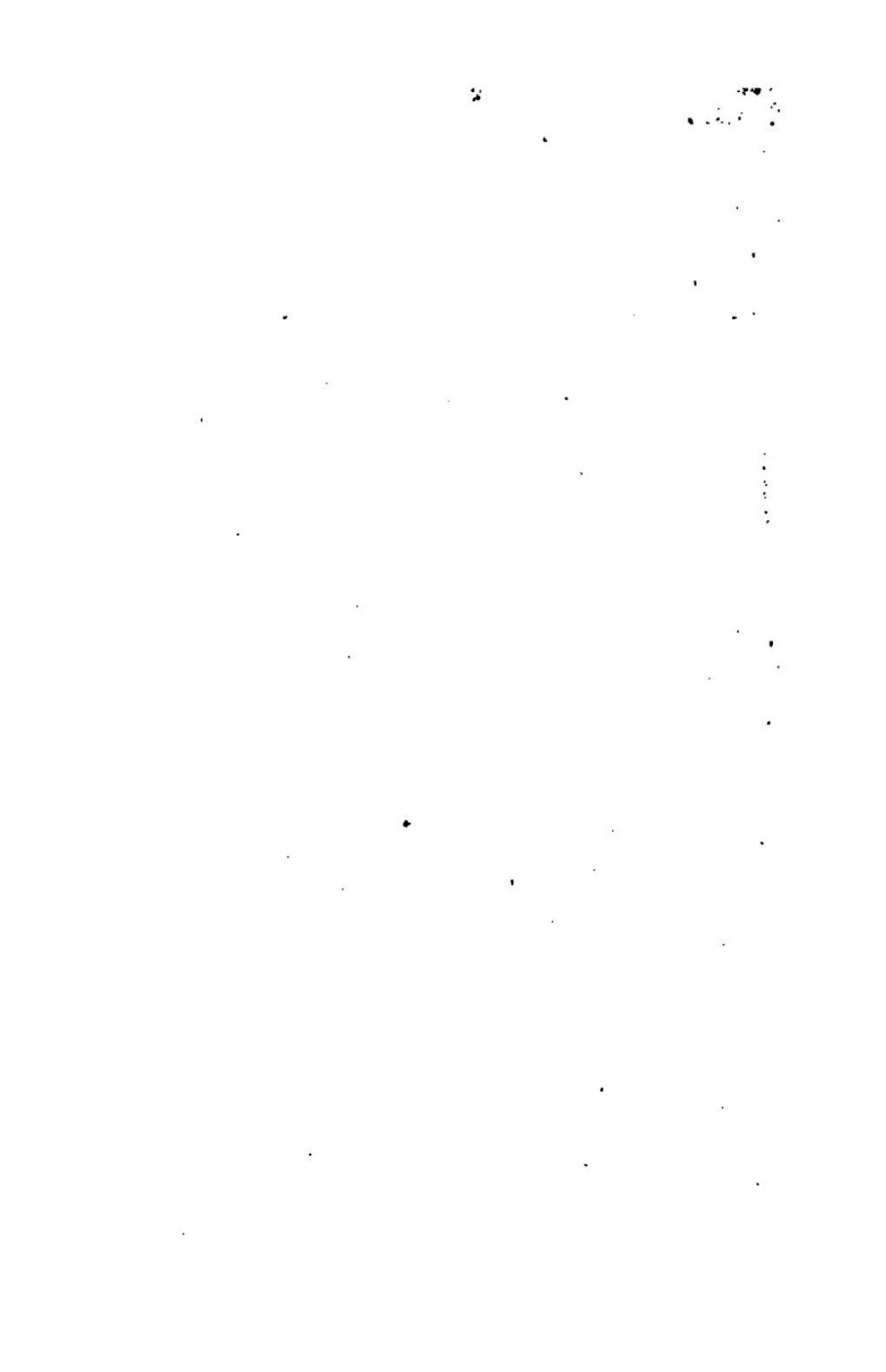
19. The rise and progress of religion in the soul, illustrated in a course of serious and practical addresses, suited to persons of every character and circumstance. To which is annexed Christ's invitation to thirsty souls ; a sermon. By Philip Doddridge, D. D. The eleventh edition. Price 2 s. bound.

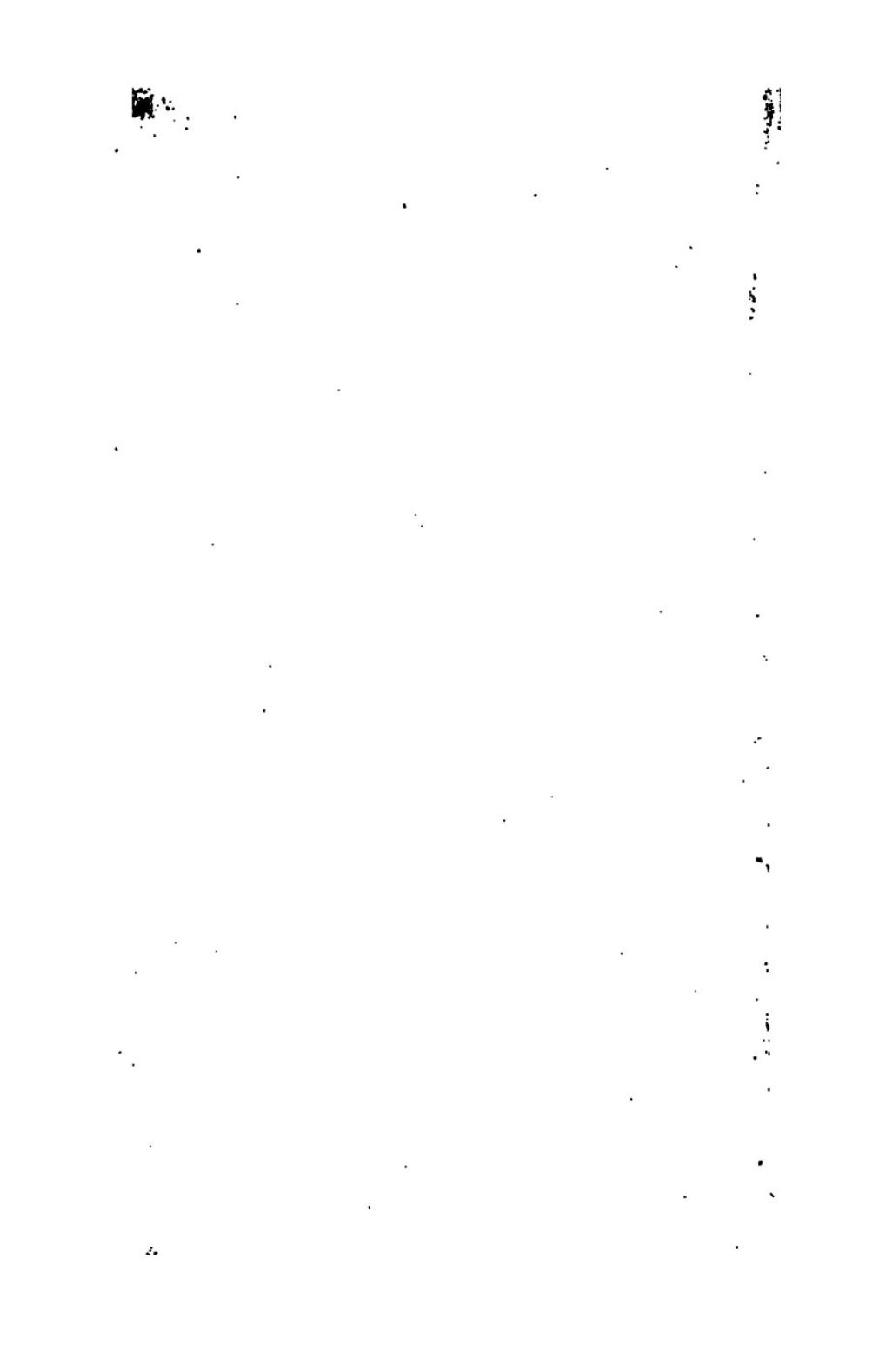
20. The same book, finer paper, 2 s. 6 d. bound.

21. Doddridge's sermons to young people. Price 1 s. bound.









J.L. 6. 9. 25



